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Britain's turn in Brussels a chance for pragmatism

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The presidency of the European Community changes every six months. No matter who is in the chair, the procedure is the same: at first there are a lot of speeches about grand things like unity.

Then the speeches die away and it's back to routine: the battle against increasing agricultural surpluses, pleas for smaller demands on the budget and the effort to rein in an out-of-control bureaucracy.

The presidency is a demanding institution. It is the same for the British as it was for the Dutch, and it will be the same for the Belgians.

The Community is like a clumsy supertanker.— difficult to manoeuvre in a hurry. Six months is not much time to get things done.

There is much that indicates that in the remaining five months the British presidency will function as it normally does and without too much ado.

In Britain's two previous terms in the presidency London created too much controversy and, because of this, often found itself isolated.

The first British term in the presidency was during James Callaghan's Labour government in 1977.

There was a lot of debate then about whether Britain should stay in. The country was divided.

During Britain's second term in 1981 there was the long, drawn-out battle lead by Margaret Thatcher about Britain's net contributions. This harmed the Community internally and shoved other, more important matters, on to the sidings.

Today everything is different. The British are regarded as being just as good Europeans as the French or the Germans, and are represented in Brussels by first-class diplomats and officials.

To many the liberal, free-market economy thinking of the British Conservative Party is a ray of hope. The proverbial pragmatism of the British can help solve many of the Community's awkward problems.

The British have already had to familiarise themselves with a matter that has made the agreement processes in most Community spheres difficult, if not impossible.

Europe's poor south, represented previously by only Italy and Greece, became much more important when Spain and Portugal joined at the beginning of the year.

Until then the "rich" member-states in the north were always dominant. Now the southerners, to whom the Irish can be added from time to time, have a blocking minority and they can make life difficult for the Germans, French, Dutch and Danes.

This was made abundantly clear at recent ministerial council meetings on agriculture and budget policies. The necessary three-quarters majority did not emerge.

It might be due to the British understanding of "leadership" but Agriculture Minister Michael Jopling and junior Treasury Minister Brooke let these ministerial council meetings just run on.

The 11 other ministers or their state secretaries voiced their opinions on beef, butter and other mountains, as well as the Commission's budgetary plans for next year. Time was even allowed for peripheral details.

The result was that the vital points of agricultural and budgetary policies were only touched upon. This will have to be made up for by the presidency insisting strictly on keeping to the point in autumn.

Nor is foreign policy going along as the British government signified it would. The last summit in The Hague was dominated by disputes about South Africa.

The British government seems to give an excessive amount of attention to South Africa at the expense of other important aspects of European policies.

After the failure of Sir Geoffrey Howe's second visit to the southern African states the economic sanctions demanded by the Dutch, Danes, Greeks and Italians at the Council summit in The Hague are unavoidably apparently.

Sir Geoffrey may point out that import sanctions on South African coal, steel, Kruger Rands and a few other products will not move Pretoria to dismantle apartheid, release Nelson Mandela or open up government negotiations with the banned African National Congress. They would harm neighbouring countries.

Still the pressure on the European Community to do something gets ever greater.

Against the advice of the British and Germans the Twelve in The Hague put South Africa in a tight spot, insisting that President Botha's government do something within three months.

Time is relentlessly running out for the imposition of these sanctions threatened.

Margaret Thatcher, who has forced her Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to follow this policy against his better judgment, must prepare herself for the breakdown of her South African policies.

In Brussels it is no longer considered unlikely that Sir Geoffrey will resign.

The domination of South Africa obscures the fact that the Commission and the British presidency, despite earnest pledges, have not succeeded in avoiding the threatened trade war with the United States.

For months the dispute has fouled the relations between Americans and Europeans. For its part Brussels has tried to achieve a kind of truce, which would favourably influence the next round of Gatt negotiations.

Washington is correct in saying that highly-subsidised European agricultural products put American farmers at a disadvantage. The subsidies also undercut other countries.

There is some doubt that agriculture policy will be included in the Gatt agenda, as the Americans would like it to be. The majority of Europeans are against it. Some are, in fact, in favour of first making progress on this point within the Community.

British hands are tied in dealing with vital reforms of the Common Agriculture Policy, but London could strengthen the cohesiveness in monetary policies by joining the European Monetary System.

The time seems opportune for this in view of Europe's low inflation rate and the agreement that has been reached in fundamentals, at least, in economic policies among the economically "strong" countries.

There also seems to be a growing awareness in Britain of the advantages to sterling of joining the EMS. Membership would support British long-term efforts for currency stability.

It is obvious that during Britain's presidency of the European Community efforts will be made to dismantle the restrictions on the free movement of capital within the Community especially, and to de-regulate European aviation, mainly with an eye to making a reality of the internal market by 1992.

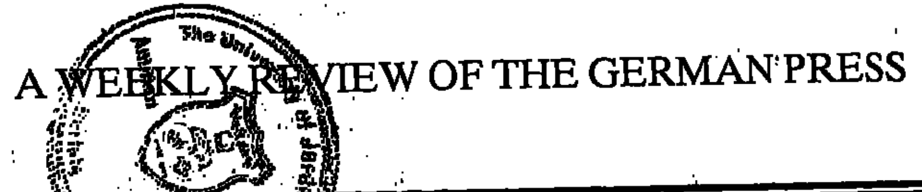
There is the opportunity here of showing clearly to the European public at large the merits of joint policies. Everyone benefits from more competition in capital markets and civil aviation.

These opportunities recently prompted Simon May, deputy secretary general of the Action Committee for Europe and an erstwhile assistant to former British Premier Sir Edward Heath, to speak with optimism of Britain's presidency.

May took the assumption of Community leadership for a limited period as a favourable opportunity to steer the Community in a better direction.

This is of particular interest to West German interests, because the British

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Man on the Wall is back in the West

John Runnings, the 69-year-old American who staged a one-man protest against the Berlin Wall, has returned to the West from East Berlin, where he was held in custody by the East German authorities. (Photo: dpa)

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Partition South Africa, Lambsdorff suggests

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Count Lambsdorff, the economic policy spokesman of the Free Democratic parliamentary party in Bonn, has criticised Western policy toward South Africa and the imposition of economic sanctions.

He reiterated in an interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* his proposal to partition South Africa, saying it deserved to be reconsidered.

It had been criticised by other FDP politicians, some seeing Count Lambsdorff's comments on speculation about his possible return to the Bonn Cabinet.

There are those who see him as a candidate for the Foreign Office after next January's general election — and have not just done so since CSU criticism of Herr Genscher's foreign policy.

The CSU has been particularly critical of Herr Genscher's policy toward South Africa *and of the man he favours to take* over as ambassador in Pretoria in October.

White security, the former Economic Affairs Minister wrote in an article for *Quick* magazine published at the end of July and entitled "Partition of South Africa the Solution," holds the key to black freedom.

He had followed the course of the partition debate ever since he had first visited South Africa about 10 years ago, having last revisited the Cape two years ago.

There were various proposals and models for dividing South Africa into two independent states. Most envisaged black power in the north, the mineral-rich province of Transvaal, and a white state in the south-west, in Cape province.

The 2.4 million coloureds would probably settle in the Cape too. Blacks who lived and worked there would be migrant workers from the north with no franchise in the south.

Partition plans are based on the assumption that, given the polarisation of the situation in South Africa, black and white can no longer live peacefully in one country.

Count Lambsdorff was not prepared to comment on the plausibility of the various plans.

The most frequently discussed partition plan was first outlined in 1976 in the foreign affairs quarterly, *Aussenpolitik*, by Klaus von der Ropp, the Bonn representative of the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, a Bonn government think tank based near Munich.

The Lambsdorff proposals are based on Baron von der Ropp's plan and envisage South Africa being divided into two states, each roughly equal in geographical extent.

The northern, black state would account for roughly 75 per cent of the gross domestic product.

The partition plan has been discussed both in the Federal Republic of Germany, where it has been mentioned more than once in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*, and in countries ranging from Australia and Holland to Mexico and France.

Serious foreign newspapers such as the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Guardian* and the *Washington Post* have dealt with the proposal in depth.

The *Aussenpolitik* essay has been reprinted in South Africa and the proposal taken up by other experts.

A black South African newspaper, the *City Press*, wrote last autumn that experts backed by the South African government had drawn up a plan for a threefold carve-up of the country.

Right-wing extremist white groups, presumably with scant influence, have called for a "white homeland" in the heart of South Africa.

Another, somewhat mysterious South African group, the Organisation for the Independence of South-West Africa, calls for an "independent" Cape province.

South Africa's leading business executive, Gavin Reilly of the Anglo-American mining and industrial corporation, recently described partition as the "final solution."

Count Lambsdorff agrees. Viewed from outside, he writes, partition would appear to be an absurd solution. But if consociational democracy failed to work in South Africa, which seemed likely, the whites must be offered a refuge.

The consociational approach, as proposed for South Africa in the Federal Republic by a group of researchers headed by Theodor Hanf in Freiburg, envisages cultural and linguistic autonomy for whites and blacks, assured minority rights and a quest for consensus on all fundamental decisions.



Otto Lambsdorff (Photo: Sven S…)

The 1984 South African constitution incorporates individual features like from this debate, but amounts to no more than what has been termed "sham consociationalism."

The partition proposal must, Count Lambsdorff says, differ fundamentally from the South Africans' "homeland" concept, which from the outset has, like the apartheid policy, been unacceptable.

The aim must be to ensure, *in power* policy terms, the right of white and coloured South Africans to survive and so to prevent a civil war *he sees* as an increasingly distinct possibility.

The outcome of a civil war would be far from clear; the Afrikaners had succeeded at the turn of the century in keeping the British Empire at bay for … years in the Boer War.

They were still not prepared to abandon power voluntarily. So an approach needed to be taken that went *further* than conventional ideas.

Partition would not *result* in a divided nation, as in Germany or Korea, because no such nation exists.

Count Lambsdorff referred to an "Afrikaner Israel," probably in the western Cape province, adding that Palestinian claims to have had their land stolen from them and not to have been granted statehood of their own did not exactly apply by analogy in this case. Yet partition

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Howe's rebuff cuts options for Europe

After the disappointing six-day visit of Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to South Africa and neighbouring states there is nothing left for the Community to do but impose within three months the sanctions agreed on at The Hague in June.

Brussels and the governments of the 12 regard the rebuff for Sir Geoffrey as being aimed more at the Thatcher government *than the Community*.

But the rejection of the hand of reconciliation is regarded as an affront.

It is hard to believe that the Black population has not welcomed the Community initiative. The Community has always demanded prompt dialogue between the Blacks and the White government in Pretoria, without any pre-conditions.

The European summit and foreign ministers have all called for the raising of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and the release of Nelson Mandela.

Obviously there was no desire to have the Europeans interfering. ANC representatives and Mandela himself refused to speak with Sir Geoffrey as the emissary of the European Community.

Sir Geoffrey was probably not the strongest man to stand up to South African President Botha.

Apart from his 11 ministerial colleagues in Brussels Sir Geoffrey could rely on no-one in his delicate mission to support him with any great energy.

Even in Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland Sir Geoffrey came across concealed and, in many instances, overt rejection of his mission.

President Kaunda of Zambia was publicly offensive to the British Foreign Secretary when they appeared before the press together.

Sir Geoffrey was snubbed as if he were a travelling-salesman offering shoelaces on the front doorstep.

But it will not be easy for the 12 to impose sanctions.

Wherever Sir Geoffrey went it was impressed on him that sanctions would not affect the Whites so much as the Blacks.

The government in Pretoria has threatened to suspend supplies of important raw materials, that are vital to western industry and can only be obtained from South Africa.

Helmut J. Weiand

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 31 July 1986)

Geissler pillories Pinochet regime in Chile



Heiner Geissler (Photo: dpa)

Heiner Geissler, CDU general secretary and the butt of frequent criticism of the Christian Democrats, has earned nothing but favourable press comments on his present foreign tour.

Commentators have tended to say, on a note of apology and admiration, that he is perhaps a divided soul who has now gained full credibility. On his first stop, in South Korea, he staunchly supported hard-pressed Opposition politician Kim Dae Young.

In the Philippines he not only promised President Corazon Aquino the Bonn government's support but also praised her for her democratic behaviour in a difficult dispute.

He went on to hit world headlines in Chile, where he was trenchantly critical of General Pinochet's military regime.

Herr Geissler flew to Santiago for celebrations to mark the 29th anniversary of the foundation of Chile's Christian Democrats.

But 24 hours beforehand the ceremony was banned and trade unions and other organisations were threatened with arrest if they lent the Christian Democrats conference facilities.

The ceremony was eventually held before an audience of 50 in a Catholic parsonage in Valparaiso.

This ban was seen by Herr Geissler as an occasion for being even more outspoken in his call for the restoration of democracy and implementation of human rights in Chile.

That was not to be the end of the hindrance and humiliation he was to suffer. His footsteps were dogged by secret policemen and he was bitterly frustrated in his efforts to see political prisoners arrested during the last strike wave.

Herr Geissler's reaction to this act of inhumanity by the Pinochet government was to call not only for the release of all political prisoners and an end to torture but to appeal for an international wave of protest against human rights violations in Chile.

None of his Chilean political friends, including Christian Democratic leader Gabriel Valdez, a former Cabinet Minister under President Eduardo Frei, will

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■ LÄNDER

Mayor Dohnanyi tones up Hamburg's SPD Senate

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi of Hamburg is certainly a cool customer. He spent weeks on holiday in Bavaria while his Senate, or city council, was caught in increasingly heavy weather back home.

Then the captain was back on the bridge and resumed control of the helm to make sure that his proud Social Democratic ship of state, with its absolute majority in Hamburg, did not run aground due to errors of political navigation a mere three months before the state assembly polls.

Bronzed and confident, he presided over the assembled press conference and briefed journalists soberly and without excitement on a change of course as part of which two of his officers, Interior Senator Rolf Lange and Justice Senator Eva Leithäuser, were made to walk the plank, as it were.

It was somehow fitting that Mayor von Dohnanyi announced the changes in the Phoenix Hall of Hamburg's Rathaus with its motto, adorning one wall: "The old is ousted, times they change, and new life flowers from the ruins."

Hamburg politics were not entirely reduced to the ashes from which the proverbial phoenix rises, but after recent setbacks the Social Democrats no longer seem likely to retain the absolute majority they gained four years ago.

There is something of a pulp novel note about the government of such a fine and wealthy city as Hamburg being shaken not by a commercial scandal but by an underworld killer from St Pauli.

Gangster Werner Pinzner shot the public prosecutor, his wife and himself during an interrogation at police headquarters, but this scandal merely brought to a head storm clouds that had gathered in recent months.

There were the several hundred demonstrators cordoned off in St Pauli by several hundred men of police riot squad units in June and held without warrant for over 12 hours.

They were held in such humiliating conditions that the report by a commission of inquiry referred to "a kind of hostage-taking" by the police.

For hours the demonstrators were not allowed to eat or drink, and they were obliged to answer the calls of nature in the presence of everyone else and to the accompaniment of derisive remarks by the police.

Interior Senator Rolf Lange seemed in line for the axe there and then, and he is said to have been prepared to step down. But Mayor von Dohnanyi decided to ride out the storm for the time being.

The police's conduct had been criticised by the CDU Opposition but Senate officials had a feeling it wasn't viewed as critically by the general public.

The bloodshed at police headquarters was another matter, with a fivefold murderer shooting the public prosecutor, his wife and himself with a pistol smuggled into the interrogation room.

The public were far from happy that a man unmasked as a paid St Pauli killer and taken into custody last April could suddenly draw a gun under interrogation at police headquarters.

Initial investigations revealed serious shortcomings both in police security checks and at Hamburg jails. Pinzner's wife smuggled the gun into the interrogation room, and the indications are that she and her husband planned to die together.

But the post mortem revealed that Pinzner had been under the influence of cocaine at the time of his death. He may well have been under the influence of drugs during previous interrogation. The hypodermic was found in his cell.

The Pinzner affair grew more grotesque by the day, eventually assuming the proportions of a crisis of confidence in the city's Senate.

While local newspapers revealed one new detail after another of mishaps and shortcomings in the security sector, the St Pauli underworld arranged a motorcade along the Reeperbahn in memory of the murderer's "magnificent departure."

The wireless aerials of the gangsters' cars sported black drapes. This provocation went further than the public were prepared to tolerate. Something, it was widely felt, just had to be done.

The axe fell at the Rathaus shortly after public prosecutor Wolfgang Bistry's funeral. Justice Senator Eva Leithäuser had told *Bild-Zeitung* only a few hours earlier that she had no immediate intention of resigning.

After the Rathaus session she rang the paper and told it to eliminate the negative. What that meant was clear.

Klaus von Dohnanyi had reported back for work from his holiday on the Monday. The crucial Senate session was held on the Wednesday. Decisions were expected and Wednesday's newspapers were severely critical of him.

"Dohnanyi Is Chicken," the *Morgenpost* proclaimed, while the *Hamburger Abendblatt* wondered whether, after his summer holiday, he had lost his customarily keen sense of the tenor of public opinion in the city.

What annoyed the commentators most was that he was so tightlipped. Then, after a crisis session attended by Ortwin Runde, the SPD state leader, and Henning Voscherau, SPD leader in the House of Burgesses, the chips were down.

Officials close to Mayor von Dohnanyi said he had again proved his strength of leadership. That was taken at the Rathaus to mean there had been opposition to the moves he had proposed.

Rolf Lange had long been keen to step down as Interior Senator, feeling the pace was "killing," allowing him no time to take a holiday or even a pause for thought.

Frau Leithäuser in contrast, who had been Justice Senator for seven years, was not prepared to step down without further ado.

Herr Lange is a right-winger, Frau Leithäuser a left-winger in the Hamburg SPD, which has lately engaged in some arduous fence-mending.

Frau Leithäuser's supporters in the Hamburg SPD see her resignation as a pawn sacrifice. Neither she nor Herr Lange seemed likely to have been retained as Senators after the 9 November elections. There had certainly been too many mishaps in her department over the years.

They included evident shortcomings at the city's jails, criticism of the free-and-easy way in which the prison service was run and reports of correspondence between Senators and prisoners over the heads of prison staff. Doubts grew as to whether Frau Leithäuser was a match for the job.

Similar criticism was levelled at Herr Lange, who was chiefly criticised as lacking authority. He was said to have allowed the police to become a law unto itself, having been "too trusting, too lacking in scepticism and little short of gullible in dealings with the administration."

Lange, 44, gave good service as mayor of the borough of Wandsbek, which was why he was promoted to Interior Senator in 1984.

He replaced Alfons Pawelczyk, who has now stepped in to resume his old job.

Herr Lange is said to have been lacking in the ability to get his own way in dealings with senior police officers, who were more than a match for him.

This had been particularly apparent when the demonstrators were rounded up and held in custody in June. The police had realised within hours that the move had backfired and started compiling reports in self-justification.

Other mishaps in the police sector included a senior police officer who was identified as a hit-and-run driver yet neatly sidestepped responsibility for the treatment meted out to demonstrators.



Klaus von Dohnanyi (Photo: Sven Simon)

There was a police inspector whose investigation methods in connection with the murder of a Turk by skinheads were so unusual that charges were preferred against him.

Against this background it was strange to hear Herr Lange say on TV after his resignation that the police had really not deserved to be put in the hot seat in this way.

Yet they are unlikely to be allowed to step clear of the limelight until disciplinary action has been taken in the police force too.

Mayor von Dohnanyi and Senator Pawelczyk made this clear at the press conference in conceding that organisational changes would be indispensable in one department or another.

Herr Voscherau, who holds the reputation of being the Social Democratic strongman in both the House of Burgesses and the party, shares with Senator Pawelczyk the distinction of being rated the man in charge of the SPD in Hamburg.

They and Mayor von Dohnanyi are keen to salvage what can still be salvaged and avert the threat of losing votes on both sides of the political spectrum in November.

A succession of scandals and affairs in the security sector are felt to have done the Social Democrats such damage in Hamburg that they must come to terms with the idea of governing in coalition harness next time round.

Their coalition partners could be the Free Democrats, the Greens or even the Christian Democrats.

Volker Skierka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 8 August 1986)

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could not be imposed. Black and white would need to agree if it were to work.

He seems unimpressed by the objections raised to his "proposals worth considering" and aimed at keeping damage to a minimum in South Africa.

No-one, he says, has yet put forward objective arguments against them.

Jürgen Möllemann, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, said he saw no incentive in the reality of divided states to apply the idea to South Africa and appealed to Count Lambsdorff to withdraw his proposal.

A spokesman for the Free Democrats said it was an idea worth considering if conditions in South Africa were to take a dramatic turn for the worse. But every possible means of maintaining South Africa's unity must first be tried out.

The foreign affairs spokesman of the FDP parliamentary party said in a radio interview broadcast by Saarländischer Rundfunk that Count Lambsdorff's comments were "adventurous" and impracticable.

Besides, consideration needed to be given to a constitution ensuring white minority rights.

South Africa has a population of four million whites and about 25 million blacks (figures differ). The SPD parliamentary party spokesman on African affairs, Günter Verheugen, said the Lambsdorff plan was absurd.

Count Lambsdorff is strongly critical of sanctions resolutions against South Africa, saying they are hypocritical and will have no effect.

The ban on imports of coal, iron and steel from South Africa is "naked trade policy protectionism" in respect of goods available in surplus, if at higher cost, in northern Europe.

The same would apply to an import ban on South African fruit and vegetables from which farmers in Mediterranean member-countries of the European Community would stand to benefit.

No mention has yet been made, he says, of goods on which the West is dependent — strategic minerals such as vanadium and chromium or gold bullion.

Thus the economic sanctions debate is a "hypocritical figleaf discussion" bearing in mind domestic critics rather than suffering blacks in South Africa. Sanctions were wrong and would remain wrong even if they were to be decided on in the interest of European integration. They would lead only to the Afrikaners digging in and being even less prepared for change than beforehand.

They also distracted attention from the "genuine" debate about how life could and must go on in South Africa and contributed toward economic destabilisation in southern Africa.

To call for sanctions, Count Lambsdorff says, is to turn the screw that inevitably leads to violence, and violent solutions are self-destructive.

He feels it is a grave mistake on the West's part (and Bonn's) not to have leant support sooner to the leading representative of non-violent black South Africa, Chief Buthelezi, whose Inkatha movement is "hale and hearty and anything but a girls' boarding school."

Advocates of a non-violent solution are now, he feels, steadily losing ground among black South Africans.

Robert von Lucius

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 August 1986)

■ THE PARTIES

Pollution scandal hits SPD environment minister

Someone has been pumping large amounts of Prussic acid into the Saar river. Huge amounts of fish have been killed and wider environmental disaster threatens. The Saar's Minister of the Environment, Jo Leinen, has come under heavy fire for his handling of the issue. First he said he knew who the culprit was. Then he didn't. One report says the way the inexperienced minister and department officials have acted rivals the offence itself for negligence.

No match for experienced bureaucrats . . . Jo Leinen. (Photo: Poly-Press)

Will Social Democrat Leinen decide to accept responsibility and resign? His grasp of environmental issues is not in question, but many people feel he lacks quality as wel as experience.

There were mistakes in the way the issue was handled, admits Saar Premier Oskar Lafontaine. But only one of them can be blamed on the Minister.

Three days after the first fish were found floating dead in the river he announced prematurely, after laboratory analysis, that the culprit had been identified.

Prussic acid had, he said, been pumped into the Saar by the Saar Mining Corporation's Fürstenhausen coking works.

Two days later, after detailed findings had been presented, he had to eat his words. He admitted that it couldn't have been the coking works. The public prosecutor's office said the culprit had yet to be identified.

He has been caught out in the past making ill-considered comments and was thought to have learnt his lesson. But he evidently hasn't.

If he had he would have taken criticism by the neighbouring Rhineland-Palatinate in his stride. The Saar authorities notified the Rhineland-Palatinate in time regardless of accusations to the contrary.

The clumsy and incompetent way in which he overhastily pilloried the "definite culprit" must weigh more heavily.

It reveals a weakness with which Leinen, 38, must come to terms. He lacks routine in handling a large government department.

He worked as a lawyer in Freiburg, was spokesman for the environmental initiatives association for a while and won the Social Democrats crucial votes in the March 1985 state assembly elections.

So he was certainly worth his weight in gold to the SPD, having helped to keep the Greens out of the state assembly and to gain the Social Democrats an absolute majority in the Saar.

But his Cabinet portfolio was possibly a size too large for him. He lacked the experience needed to deal with a department with a payroll of 1,500 or so.

Christian and Free Democrats held (and still hold) key posts at the Ministry. Leinen could only replace the men at the top.

It goes without saying that experienced bureaucrats rightly feel they are more than a match for such a young upstart with no home base on whose support he can rely.

His competent grasp of the issues may not be disputed, although he stood on the other side of the fence as spokesman for the protest groups. But he is felt by officials at his Ministry to be[r] quality.

They accuse him of wasting time on details rather than laying down broad outlines. This is arguably borne out by reports that he tends to rely on what fellow-Social Democrats tell him rather than on the advice of Ministry officials.

The men at the Ministry get their own back. There is no shortage of traps they can set for him.

Life at the Ministry is like a jungle. It is one against all and all against the rest.

So he is unlikely to be worried by clamours from Christian and Free Democrats in Saarbrücken and Bonn for his resignation. When do German politicians ever resign?

All things considered, it wasn't his fault that the Saar is so short of cash it can't afford to staff or equip government departments adequately.

Departments such as the *Land* Environmental Protection Agency, the chemical laboratories and hygiene institute were bequeathed to him by his Christian Democratic predecessors.

Adolf Müller

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 August 1986)

Kelly's refusal to stand down set to put Greens in a spin

Petra Kelly, who long symbolised the Greens, the ecological party she helped to found, has amazed her party yet again.

Even though she has been edged from the mainline to the periphery of the party and created an uproar by refusing to stand down from the Bundestag and "rotate" after her first two years in the Bonn parliament, she has been renominated by the Greens' Bavarian region and may well be re-elected next January.

This move makes fresh disputes on rotation and clashes within the party a foregone conclusion.

She rather fancies several well-known Green MPs will be relieved that she has shown it is possible for Greens to serve in the Bundestag for two full terms.

The proof of the pudding will come in 1991, when the next-but-one general election is held.

Then, if not sooner, we shall whether Frau Kelly's example is followed. Will leading Greens such as Thomas Ebermann, Otto Schily and Antje Vollmer be allowed to stand again?

Herr Schily, Frau Vollmer and others who stood down after two years in the Bundestag in 1985 as originally agreed may well be elected again next January.

They have certainly long felt that strict rotation as agreed in 1983 makes no sense.

No new arrangement has been agreed but Greens have seemed fairly confident that MPs elected next year will serve their full terms and then stand down to make way for others.

Frau Kelly has upset this approach by succeeding in gaining selection. The Greens in Bavaria may, in giving her a chance, have taken the first step on the road to scrapping rotation once and for all.

In nominating her as a leading candidate the Greens have also nailed their political colours to the mast.

Frau Kelly calls herself an independent fundamentalist and accuses her party of increasingly losing touch with the civic initiatives and social movements that were once its bedrock.



Setting a precedent . . . Petra Kelly. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Many civic initiatives now feel the party has left them a little in the lurch. They accuse the Greens of having virtually abandoning any idea it may have had of giving political representation to the views of social movements.

She feels such accusations are warranted and warns the Greens not to forget who put them into office. She still sees herself very much as a representative of the civic initiatives and protest movements in the Bundestag.

That, she says, is why she yielded to pressure from groups campaigning against a new Munich airport and agreed to stand again, which she had planned not to do.

Such groups are, she feels, the party's true grass roots.

Boosted by her renomination, she and her views seem sure to gain in importance as the Greens discuss which policy lines to take.

Her attitude toward the Social Democrats is likely to be a crucial issue. She will hear nothing of ideas of Green support, official or unofficial, of an SPD [...]

Continued on page 8

■ NATO

Greece and Turkey, at odds, weigh heavily on West

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Greeks and Turks have been at daggers drawn for centuries, rallying round their respective symbols the Cross and the crescent moon.

So the idea of entrusting them jointly with responsibility for Cyprus in 1960 was a doubtful starter from the outset.

Virtually no-one wanted a jointly administered Cypriot state. Greek Cypriots campaigned for Enosis, or union with Greece, Turkish Cypriots for Taksim, or partition.

They finally made do with a system of government in which the 80-per-cent Greek and nearly 20-per-cent Turkish population shared power ina 7:3 ratio, but with the Turks enjoying a veto and thus almost equal influence.

The entire arrangement was left to the tender mercies of relations between Greece and Turkey, which had deteriorated in connection with Cyprus in particular.

Both sides may have contributed toward the break-up of the constitutional arrangement, with dogmatism and obstinate reluctance to let the new state function pragmatically on the one hand and retention of Hellenic irredentism and total disinclination to come to terms in any way with powerful, neighbouring Turkey on the other.

But the Greeks were regularly left appearing to be in the blame. In 1964 they attacked Turkish Cypriot villages, forcing a kind of ghetto existence on them, while in 1973 they provided Turkey with a pretext to invade the island: a coup organised from Athens.

The treaty by which Greece and Turkey guaranteed Cypriot independence may have entitled the Turks to intervene but it can hardly justify the permanent occupation of nearly 40 per cent of the island.

The Turks have hinted that if their ideas on a confederation of the two halves of the island are accepted they will be prepared to reduce their territorial share of the island to the old 7:3 ratio.

But Turkey cannot be said always to have acted in good faith, so one can well understand why the Greeks constantly ask, within the framework of proposals regularly reframed by UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar, what is to happen to the 20,000-odd Turkish troops currently stationed on the island.

It is hard not to suspect that neither side is really interested in a solution. Turkey has already carried out the partition it always wanted, has troops on the island and controls more territory than the 7:3 ratio would entitle it to.

The Greek Cypriots see no reason why they should expressly acknowledge this state of affairs except in exchange for substantial concessions. So they demand a virtual reversion to the pre-1974 situation, unrealistic though that may seem.

The Cyprus conflict has lined up Nato partners Greece and Turkey in seemingly irreconcilable opposition to each other.

The situation doesn't readily lend itself to being painted in terms of ideological black and white. Alleged Socialists, not right-wing nationalists, are mainly to blame.

Socialist Premier Bülent Ecevit was hailed as a war hero in Turkey in 1974, and current Premier Türgüt Özal, who is made out to be pragmatic, has at least harnessed Turkish nationalism to his bandwaggon, whereas military leaders tended to favour containing the clash.

In Greece, where nationalism has always had a left-wing flavour, this seeming contradiction is even more striking.

Centre Party leader Georgios Papandreou went in for national demagogy on the Cyprus question, while his son Andreas, who has led the Centre to the left, incorporating some members of the extreme left, has made the line-up against Turkey his political creed, even sacrificing the joint Nato defence doctrine to it.

So in Greece it is definitely the tail that wags the dog and extremist Greek Cypriot nationalism that sounds the keynote of Greek policy.

Mr Papandreou's Pasok Party must be seen as both nationalist and socialist, it often being hard to say which of the two prevails.

Turkey frequently makes threatening gestures toward Greece. It prides itself on being a powerful country with a population of 50 million and a high birth rate. Greece in contrast has a population of only 10 million that is growing at a slow rate. Voices are also heard in Ankara calling for an end to the cordon sanitaire of Greek Aegean islands. Both bilaterally and within Nato Turkey demands a share in control over the Aegean. It has very little on which to base this claim. The 1923 Lausanne settlement laid down that Turkey was to be awarded mainland Asia Minor and Greece the Aegean Islands (all except two).

Periodic aggressive noises from Ankara give Greek nationalists and, of course, Mr Papandreou a splendid excuse for arguing that Greece continues to be threatened from the East, in other words, Turkey.

Mr Papandreou incorporates these arguments in his negotiations with the United States, which now supplies Greece and Turkey with weapons in a ratio of 7:10, whereas the ratio used to be more in Turkey's favour.

On assuming power Mr Papandreou diluted his campaign promises substantially. He had originally wanted to leave the European Community and at least shut down the US bases in Greece.

Instead he has negotiated better membership terms with the European Community and made at least gains in prestige in talks with the United States, which are due to be resumed next year.

The outcome of these talks seems to be a foregone conclusion, yet many Greeks feel their national dignity has been restored.

No-one has any illusions that Mr Papandreou and Greece could manage without ties with the United States. Even the virtual no-show of US tourists this summer came as a shock and put paid to Greek illusions about the advantages of pro-Arab policies.



Nato South flank misfit (Cartoon: Haitzinger/Saarbrücker Zeitung)

Yet the Greek Premier must be taken seriously in his anti-Turkish outlook. A change of government in Athens would, perhaps, alleviate the situation but not change it fundamentally.

Greek conservatives have too often had to do the nationalist dirty work for which others have laid the foundations.

Arms stockpiled

Turkish attacks on Cyprus or in the Aegean would almost certainly lead to hostilities. So, conversely, would Greek bids to extend territorial waters and cramp Turkey's style in the Aegean.

Both countries have stockpiled arms that might not enable them to wage strategic, offensive warfare but they could fight successful defensive campaigns, while Turkey might also be in a position to stage local offensives against the Greek islands.

For their Western allies Graeco-Turkish relations have become a heavy burden, especially now Turkey has followed up its domestic consolidation by seeking closer ties with the West, especially the European Community.

Greece has come to be an inconvenient partner for both Nato and the European Community, seeing itself as a advocate of the "poor South" and of socialist concepts of distribution.

It can be sure to veto closer ties between Turkey and the European Community, let alone full Turkish membership.

"How," Greeks ask, "are we to help to bankroll Turkey when we already have to spend seven per cent of our GNP to defend ourselves from the Turks?"

Yet Turkey too is important for Nato and Europe. It is keen to establish closer ties and anxious to appear constructive.

In the long term it ought to be in a better position than Greece to underscore its case.

Viktor Meier

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 August 1986)

Continued from page 2

have been opposed to this idea. The question remains: how international is this protest to be?

Herr Geissler saw for himself, and all Chileans were agreed, that General Pinochet's power is based both on the bayonet and on Opposition disunity.

The Chilean ruler is deliberately using pluralism as a means of dividing to rule. The Allende shock has left middle-of-the-road political parties like the Christian Democrats reluctant to this day to collaborate with the left-wing Opposition.

There is the Democratic Alliance, including Christian Democrats, moderate Social Democrats and Conservatives, and the Democratic Popular Movement, including Socialists, Communists and left-wing revolutionaries.

While the Alliance is keen to exert pressure to bring about a peaceful transition of power, the Popular Movement is resolved to fight.

Yet there are now left-wingers who counsel moderation as a means of achieving Opposition unity.

The pros and cons are naturally under review among Christian Democrats. Herr Geissler seems to take a dim view of cooperation with the Left.

He backs Christian Democrats who hope that forces in the government and the military who favour a peaceful transition to democracy will prevail.

This view enjoys support among the four generals who make up the ruling junta. Quietly or more vociferously they are discussing early elections.

By the terms of General Pinochet's 1980 constitution a candidate for the Presidency is due to be decided by plebiscite in 1989. So far his is the only name to have been mooted.

But a plebiscite with popular feeling running the way it is at present would be a fiasco for the President.

So the junta generals propose Presidential elections in 1988 with several candidates.

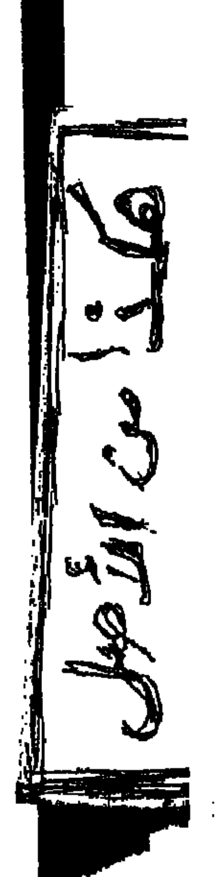
Given a choice of candidates the military man would stand a fair chance of making the running.

But all these plans have been made without taking General Pinochet, who would first need to change his mind, into account, and so far the generals have been unable to prevail on their leader on any count.

So those who bank on the military will need to be careful in voicing hopes of a transition of power soon, as Herr Geissler is sure to be well aware.

Heinrich Stubbe

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 August 1986)



■ AGRICULTURE

Folly of food politics: surplus in that country, starvation in this one

Farming subsidies in the European Community, the USA and Japan totalled DM200 billion last year, say official figures.

No matter if they are in Bavaria, Ohio or Hokkaido, enormous sums are passed on to farmers either as direct or indirect subsidies.

Public cash, import restrictions and competition for markets have created artificial relationships between products and consumer markets. Developing countries have suffered the worst.

The muddle is easy to see: in some parts of the world there are bulging silos and cold-storage depots. In others there is starvation.

No other sector of the community is subsidised by the state to the extent farming is, although farmers' contribution to the Gross National Product and employment has declined. Consumers have to cover these subsidies either with higher taxes or higher consumer prices.

The Community offers farmers support prices for most of their produce, usually well above world prices, to maintain their incomes.

This has resulted in surpluses and has forced the Community to dispose of these artificially expensive products on world markets with further subsidies.

Critics of Community agriculture policies, such as Professor Hermann Priebe, who talks of "subsidy stupidity," claim that the farm produce guaranteed prices that farmers get give them "a free hand to over-produce at everyone's expence."

Apart from price guarantees further direct or indirect state assistance is provided.

In 1985 the Community spent approximately DM45 billion on agriculture. A third of this was paid out in support prices for exports to international markets. A similar sum was paid out for the costs incurred by member governments.

Experts have calculated that in some Community countries subsidies are as high as agriculture's net output less depreciation.

There is a similar system for safeguarding incomes in the US. Official figures show that this cost $23bn in 1985, three times more than the Community.

Farmers gain from "target prices" that usually were well above market prices. The target price is the state's guaranteed purchase price and a direct aid to incomes but with a ceiling.

Subsidised to the hilt

There are about two dozen products that government list in the target price system, mainly wheat, rye, feedstuffs, maize, cotton, tobacco, honey and sugar.

High subsidies are given for milk and dairy products through government guaranteed purchases.

In Japan, that has relatively little arable land, rice-growers are in the main assisted by high subsidies. They do not have to spend more than 20 days a year in their paddy fields.

Japanese farmers are offered many times the world market price for their produce — on average noticeably more than in the Community or the USA.

Frankfurter Rundschau

Road and irrigation projects play an important role in the support given to Japanese agriculture. The conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), that is *particularly strong in the countryside*, provides enormous sums of public money to keep farmer electors in a good mood.

In Japan only a limited number of farms are the main employment of the farmer, with a large proportion of them having earnings from non-agriculture sources.

Despite massive subsidies in the Community and the USA this has not stopped farmers, particularly those on small-holdings, from throwing in the towel or living barely at subsistence level.

Estimates in the Community show that only about 20 per cent of Community agriculture expenditures go to aid farmers' incomes.

In the USA farmers have debts totalling more than $212 billion. More than two million undertakings are responsible for about a tenth of this indebtedness — mainly medium-sized family undertakings — and they have repayment problems.

Farming subsidies not only bring imbalance to domestic markets but they also de-stabilise international markets for foodstuffs whose price levels are depressed by injections of cash for exports.

The most affected are the developing countries whose problems are accentuated by protectionism in the industrialised countries.

The Community, the USA and Japan have erected high import barriers against agricultural products, and so far these remain untouched by Gatt free trade regulations.

Self-sufficiency is the keyword in Japanese agriculture policies. Japanese agriculture is protected by projection, working out estimates based on a specified set of hypotheses.

Direct import limitations are applied on 22 important items and indirect measures hinder imports of rice and other produce.

This means that a Japanese consumer has to pay about DM100 for a steak and DM8 for an apple.

The European Community protects its own farmers from cheap agricultural imports by means of a preference system for Community products and import taxes and levies.

Nevertheless the Community is the world's largest importer of agricultural produce, 20 per cent of the world's total agriculture trading, mainly because of imports of tropical products such as coffee, tea, cocoa and spices, that cannot be cultivated in the Community.

Effective protection against imports has brought about Community self-sufficiency in certain products, in some cases surpluses. This means that the Community has to move into world markets and bring pressure to bear on prices with subsidised Community produce such as grain, beef and sugar.

This protectionism for food prices back-fires on consumers, for prices are estimated to be about 25 per cent above the world market level.

Products in which the USA is self-sufficient are heavily protected. There are quotas or import duties on cheese and sugar, for instance.

Import restrictions are applied on beef and beef products by means of import quotas. Strict foodstuffs and veterinary regulations act as indirect import barriers.

The Community and the USA are together the world's largest agricultural products import/export bloc with about 30 per cent of international trade. For many years now agricultural exports have been a means of disposing of surpluses. This has brought the Community and the USA into competition on world markets.

The two have sold grain at subsidised prices, dumping it on world markets. Other traditional exporters just cannot stand the pace.

The Community argues, *as does the* USA, that they should talk together about how to maintain the market shares they have or how to regain their

In a paper on intervention and market manipulation by industrialised countries on agricultural markets, the World Bank sums up by saying the farmers are the losers, but not as much as the economy, consumers and taxpayers can save.

The new round of Gatt talks is likely to include liberalising agricultural trade: dismantling subsidies and opening up markets.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1986)

Farmers get compensation for burying radioactive lettuces



Market gardeners between Cologne and Bonn are getting paid DM31,000 per hectare for lettuces that have had to be ploughed in because of radioactive fallout from Chernobyl.

Up to the end of June 235,000 market gardeners around Cologne have been paid compensation totalling DM168 million for milk and vegetables polluted by fallout.

One market gardener had to plough in between 100,000 and 150,000 heads of lettuce in the middle of May.

The vegetable market was dead. He could not sell his lettuces even when tests showed they did not have excess radiation. The public just were too afraid to buy.

The Interior Ministry set down guidelines for compensation. The cash is being paid by the Federal Administrative Office in Cologne, which is responsible for compensation under the Atomic Energy Law.

The law says that the Federal government in Bonn will pay compensation for damage caused by the peaceful use of nuclear energy in other countries if they, the other countries do not have appropriate legislation to cover compensation.

Compensation will also be paid for additional costs for animal feed, because cows for days on end could not go out to pasture, or because leaf vegetables such as lettuce, spinach, stock beet and leeks have been destroyed or confiscated.

The Federal Administrative Office says that 311,000 claims had been made by the end of July and most have been settled.

Claims were paid as quickly as possible. The Farmers Union lobby is effective and there are *Land* elections coming up in Lower Saxony and Bavaria, in which the farming vote will be very important.

Farmers who sold produce cheaply (lettuces at half price, for example) face problems.

They must carry the loss themselves unless they can show that their turnover is below 60 per cent of what it was in the same month of the previous year and 20 per cent down on total turnover for the year.

Those in foodstuffs processing and distribution are also eligible for compensation if they can prove that they have lost money because of a decline in sales.

Health food market gardens and shops, whose customers are more aware of environmental factors, are particularly hard hit. They could suffer losses for many years to come, even the threat of bankruptcy, for the metallic chemical element caesium, a by-product of nuclear fission, is only reduced by a half over a period of about 30 years, a generation.

The state has not accepted any other liability under the Atomic Energy Law except that involving dairy farmers and market gardeners.

Under the laws of equity the state can voluntary agree to pay compensation. Two equity regulations have been approved, the first went into effect from the beginning of June.

This also applies to agriculture and concerns the cultivation of 13 different kinds of vegetable and herbs, including celery, broccoli, kohlrabi, parsley, rhubarb and chives.

So far 6,100 claims have been made and 3,500 settled, totalling DM47m (as at the end of July".

For indirect victims such as dairies, that can no longer supply milk, or travel operators whose customers have cancelled in droves, the voluntary regulations are more complicated.

Again Bonn has not accepted liability to pay compensation under the Atomic Energy Law but has in certain cases made voluntary payments.

There was wrangling between Bonn and the *Länder* about the division of costs, but the states have now consented to foot a third of the bill.

Dairies will now receive compensation for May, although the proceeds from the sale of milk for milk powder or butter will be deducted from compensation.

Gerd Depenbrock

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 August 1986)

■ FINANCE

OECD, economic think-tank and forum for ideas



The Paris-based OECD, or Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, regularly makes headlines with its forecasts and recommendations.

Its advice is not always taken, but that doesn't mean that the 24 member countries don't hold it in high regard as an economic policy review body.

Its head office, the Chateau de la Muette, is in the high-class 16th arrondissement of Paris on the outskirts of the Bois de Boulogne.

It is a peaceful area. Its peacefulness was recently disturbed by a bomb attack by Action Directe terrorists, who say *OECD* is the hub of capitalist economic *interests*.

The OECD usually itself ensures that its activities are not shrouded in peace *and* quiet.

The chateau once belonged to the Rothschild family, who placed it at the disposal of the OEEC, or Organisation for European Economic Cooperation, in 1948.

The OEEC's brief was to put to best use the $14bn of Marshall aid invested in the reconstruction of war-torn Western Europe.

This task has long been superseded by others. In 1960 the organisation was remained OECD after the Western European member-countries had been joined by the United States and Canada.

Two dozen Western countries are now in membership. Since 1964 they have included Japan. Australia and New Zealand are also members. So the geographical framework is most extensive.

Yet between them account for 60 per cent of the world's economic output and 70 per cent of world trade. A sub-organisation set up in 1974, the International Energy Agency (IEA), comprises the leading Western oil consumers (but not including France).

The OECD alone has a payroll of about 1,700, including over 500 economists. These secretariat staff are joined by the staff of member-countries' standing delegations to the OECD.

Ambassador Klaus Meyer heads the German delegation.

The secretariat alone costs member-governments 850 million francs, or DM270m, a year. Contributions are based on GNP, with Germany footing 11 per cent of the bill.

Is the expense worthwhile? It is hard to say. The OECD is most effective behind the scenes. Its public activity is limited mainly to economic research work.

Research is done on the basis of statistics compiled in member-countries. Comparing them is at times easier said than done.

At all events this work by the OECD secretariat is held in high international repute.

That is more than can always be said for OECD economic forecasts, the chief of which is the overall assessment of the economic situation and outlook in OECD countries published twice a year in the "Economic Outlook."

It is compiled to enable governments to review their economic policies and their repercussions on other countries.

Forecasts are based on the often mistaken assumption that oil prices and exchange rates will remain stable.

The OECD secretariat also issues a constant stream of brochures on all conceivable economic issues.

They are available from the OECD's Bonn office but are usually published only in English or French, the OECD's two official languages.

In addition to the outlooks and various statistical abstracts the issues covered include capital, labour and steel markets, shipbuilding, iron and steel, research, agriculture, investment, environmental protection, tourism, data processing and education.

Reports are commissioned from and compiled by independent experts in individual member-countries.

The OECD's role is also, perhaps first and foremost, that of a standing international conference and rendezvous for politicians from all Western industrialised countries.

They meet to exchange views at regular gatherings and, unofficially, in the course of international gatherings — usually behind closed doors.

As discussions are not held in public, the results can only be measured later in terms of national policy decisions. Views are often reconciled to a greater or lesser degree, OECD officials say.

Most influence is exerted by the annual conference of the OECD's Council of Ministers, its governing body.

Like the standing council of heads of delegations, the Council of Ministers is entitled to reach decisions and make recommendations. It must do so unanimously.

All member-states, even the smallest, enjoy the right of veto.

They can also abstain, thereby allowing a decision to be reached without endorsing it themselves. That is what normally happens when views differ.

Council resolutions do not immediately come into force in member-countries. Governments are merely pledged to submit them to their own legislatures for enactment as national legislation.

So the OECD has no direct means of imposing sanctions on countries that fail to abide by resolutions. Even so, important agreements between member-countries have come about as a result of such resolutions.

They include the so-called trade pledge, a trade policy truce arrangement aimed at nipping protectionism and trade restraint in the bud.

The OECD consensus on minimum interest rates for public-sector export credits is a similar move. A code of conduct for multinational corporations has also been drawn up.

Had it not been for the OECD the large measure of derestriction in capital movements would be unlikely to have come about in 1961. The same goes for recent stricter border checks of toxic substances.

But the Council mostly makes do with recommendations. They may be even less binding than resolutions, but they are not infrequently seen by member-governments as a kind of self-imposed commitment.

Council work is prepared and carried out by a 14-member executive committee.

The OECD's main aim today is to ensure the maximum economic growth in member-countries that is consistent with minimum inflation, to promote world trade and to help the developing countries.

The secretariat devises special strategies to help achieve these objectives. One was the so-called locomotive theory by which the Federal Republic of Germany in particular was envisaged as spearheading international economic growth by a policy of powerful expansion.

This theory was abandoned some years ago. Since the 1981 oil shock the aim has mainly been to reduce public-sector and budget deficits and to fight unemployment.

The OECD may be unable on its own to solve problems, but it does provide aids to enable governments to arrive at decisions.

So it does much of the spadework to enable international gatherings such as the Gatt rounds and Western economic summits to arrive at decisions. Its Council of Ministers prepares for the economic summits.

In the final analysis, however, the OECD is an organisation where politicians can discuss their problems, compare their views and exchange experience.

This is the modest keynote struck by OECD secretary-general Jean-Claude Paye. It is a keynote that seems to meet with member-governments' approval.

Joachim Schaufuss

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 July 1986)

Unemployment will drop, predicts report

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The OECD says that Germany's economic prospects are good. Economic growth should be 3.4 per cent in real terms this year and unemployment should drop from last year's 8.3 percent to 7.9 per cent.

Foreign demands — mainly American — for an additional boost to the German economy are indirectly dismissed.

The latest Economic Outlook says that growth resulting from existing domestic demand in Germany is already providing an economic stimulus in other, mainly European countries.

OECD experts forecast an economic growth rate of 3.4 per cent in real terms this year and 3.1 per cent next.

Unemployment is expected to decline from 8.3 per cent last year to 7.9 per cent this year and 7.3 per cent in 1987.

Greater labour market flexibility is said to be an important prerequisite for any lasting reduction in the number of people out of work.

German exports are expected to continue to grow, but more slowly: by 2.7 per cent this year and 2.1 per cent next. Exports increased by 7.2 per cent in 1985.

The construction industry is seen as a weak link in the economic chain, whereas capital investment is expected to increase by double-digit growth rates this year and next.

Inflation, the OECD survey says, is unlikely to increase much beyond its present rate of virtual standstill.

This impressive performance is attributed mainly to external influences, particularly low oil prices.

But economic and financial policy gain their fair share of praise with the express mention of the consolidation of public-sector finances, the restoration of confidence in the economic outlook and Germany's virtual price stability.

On a critical note, the survey says that restructuring of public spending has made little headway, the same being true of plans to curb subsidies.

Bonn is called on to further reduce the public sector share of the national product at all costs and to do more by way of derestriction.

Unions and employers will note the comment that there is greater leeway for wage rises. The OECD also says it hopes nominal increases will be as low as possible in order to lay a firmer foundation for real economic growth.

The economic policy spokesman for the Opposition Social Democrats in the Bonn Bundestag, Wolfgang Roth, read "between the lines" in his comment on the OECD's findings in Bonn.

The survey was, he said, as critical of the German government's economic policy between the lines as could presumably be expected of criticism of conservative governments.

He felt it was most regrettable that the OECD, which had at one time been held in such high repute, had shed so much self-respect that it no longer felt able to voice criticism other than indirectly.

This guarded criticism couched in vague terms was accompanied by forecasts in keeping with the propaganda targets of national governments.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 July 1986)

Britain's turn in Brussels

Continued from page 1

have seen weaknesses in the leadership given the Community so far by the Paris-Bonn duo, and charge the Federal Republic, in particular, as being only half-hearted about matters European.

May is not far wrong in saying that there is a certain hesitation in West Germany in supporting Community policies. There is a considerable disenchantment in the country in a European Community that demands considerable financial backing without giving anything in return.

The *Länder* are demanding more and more independence with the result that Bonn's European policies are subject to "small state" considerations. This dislocates power within the CDU, preventing the Chancellor from coming to decisions for Europe at the centre.

May has certainly put his finger on a few sensitive spots as regards West Germany and Europe. These sensitive spots are constantly discussed in Brussels.

May describes himself as a "centralist" and as a Briton he believes that the network of states, federally bound together and incomprehensible to many Europeans, is getting in Europe's way.

It now remains to be seen whether the apparent weakness in others can add momentum to British vigour. Five months are a short time to prove this.

Peter Hort

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 August 1986)

■ MANAGEMENT

Stuttgart lawyer puts ailing firms back on their feet

When Volker Grub qualified as a lawyer, he decided he wanted to go into business management.

He applied to several firms for management traineeships. But they didn't want him. He was told that business studies graduates were wanted. Lawyers were for company legal departments.

That was 22 years ago. Now Grub, 48, an ambitious Stuttgart attorney, has surpassed his wildest dreams — he manages well-known firms and does so with far fewer rest- raints than other industrial executives.

He breaks up companies, shuts unprofitable divisions, sells others off and keeps others going — and supervisory boards, trade unions and banks don't give him any trouble.

He is an official receiver.

Instead of joining the law department of a leading company, Grub, a forestry official's son, first set up in practice as a lawyer. He then had his name entered in the list of attorneys specialising in receivership, having decided that was an alternative way of getting a look-in at company management.

An argument in its favour, from his point of view, was that are virtually no restrictions on who can practise in receivership. "You don't need a licence," he says, "and don't even have to be a law graduate."

This being so, it is hard to say how many practising bankruptcy commissioners there are in Germany.

Only 100 or so regularly wind up or rescue ailing companies, while an estimated 600 more may do so from time to time.

But the top notch consists of a handful of usually leading specialists in receivership in their area whose names seem to crop up whenever leading companies need bailing out.

The longest-serving member of this exclusive club is unquestionably Hans-Richard Schulze of Bremen, who was the official receiver for Borgward, the Bremen car firm, and Van Delden, the Westphalian textile group.

The largest insolvency in post-war Germany, that of AEG-Telefunken in 1982, earned Wilhelm Schaaf of Frankfurt unprecedented publicity.

Further south Jobst Wellensiek in Heidelberg and Hans Ringwald in Stuttgart have regularly hit the headlines, Wellensiek as the receiver for Korf and Neff, Ringwald as the receiver for Dual and Zanker.

Other members of the fraternity usually make do with winding up small firms that have failed to make ends meet and distribute any remaining assets to the creditors.

The upper crust make a point of trying to hive off units of a bankrupt company that stand a chance of survival and selling them to suitable new managements.

Volker Grub is widely regarded as the official receiver with the most original ideas on how to make companies survive.

The way he works as an official receiver differs little, if at all, from that of a high-powered executive called in to rescue an ailing firm and avert receivership.

The frustrated executive's masterpiece was surely the way he handled the affairs of Bauknecht, the Stuttgart household equipment firm, in receivership.

The receiver had to be called in four years ago as a result of serious mismanagement by the two family heirs. Grub went about the job in his tried and trusted manner.

He would hear nothing of a plan to streamline the entire company favoured by the Bauknecht family. Instead he hived off the firm's main division and sold it to Philips, leaving only the hard-hit engineering division to bail out.

This he succeeded in doing in a most elegant manner, raising DM30m in new loans from 30 banks, mainly in the form of government-backed credits, and getting the company back on its feet.

By last spring he was even in a position to launch the rump company, Antriebstechnik G. Bauknecht AG, on the stock market.

Stock market capitalisation, a unique achievement in receivership, raised a further DM35m for the creditors of the old company, who settled for 55 per cent of what they were owed.

"That," Herr Grub proudly says, "was more than AEG's creditors got." They had to make do with 40 per cent.

An even tougher nut to crack is Gebr. Lang AG in Ettringen, Allgäu, a Bavarian paper manufacturer.

Lang was the third-largest newsprint manufacturer in Germany (Haindl and Holtzmann leading the field) when the receiver was called in last November.

His services were necessary because of allegedly criminal mismanagement by *main* shareholder and managing director Wolfgang Fendt.

A warrant is still out for Herr Fendt's arrest. He has vanished without trace.

What he left behind was property that couldn't be readily sold to raise funds. It was mortgaged to the hilt and buyers would be saddled with encumbrances totalling DM200m.

If he was to sell the firm as a going concern Herr Grub had first to get it going again, and that meant selling paper. So he embarked on a further career as a travelling salesman.

Newspapers buy newsprint at the year's end for the next 12 months, he found. So it was first come, first served — and the devil take the hindmost.

So he and sales manager Peter Lang set out on their rounds with a will. He succeeded in rustling up enough orders to keep his machinery running at 90 per cent capacity. He has also drawn up a detailed plan to rid the company of its most burdensome debts.

He now hopes someone in the newsprint trade will step in and buy the revamped company and enable him to step down and settle with the creditors.



Volker Grub (Photo: J. P. Mauer)

Grub is a loner in working out new ways to streamline ailing firms rather than just wind them up.

He heads a group of 15 lawyers who are currently handling about 20 receivership cases. Only four of his colleagues are law graduates.

He prefers to entrust individual tasks to experts in their field so as to be able to come up with tailor-made solutions to the problems his lame duck companies face.

As a paper manufacturer Gebr. Lang is a large-scale power consumer. Grub called in a leading Stuttgart engineering consultant to monitor the firm's power requirements.

He also hired a leading specialist in time and motion studies to work out new piece rates.

Having proved remarkably successful as a receiver in south Germany over the past 10 years, he is now in a position to leave straightforward cases to younger colleagues and concentrate on large-scale bankruptcies in which he has greater leeway.

Asked whether he feels official receivers ought to be allowed to stave off bankruptcy proceedings in ailing firms in a free-market economy, Herr Grub is unperturbed.

Receivership, he says, is the only way to restore to an even keel companies that are basically viable, this option being a result of the sweeping powers receivers enjoy.

Volker Grub attributes 95 per cent of cases in which his services are required to mismanagement. Receivership, he feels, means first and foremost the expropriation of previous owners who have not been up to the mark.

"As I see it receivership is a means of dispossessing incompetent entrepreneurs, and I have almost always done just that." Creditors have invariably benefited.

The latest proposals to amend the Bankruptcy Code could well mean, he fears, that the days in which receivers have enjoyed a fairly free hand will soon be over.

An expert commission appointed in the days of the SPD-FDP Bonn coalition by Justice Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel favours wider powers for the courts, which Grub sees as the first step towards state control and a receivership bureaucracy.

He and his Cologne counterpart Bruno Kübler have joined with other leading receivership practitioners and set up a study group, the Gravenbruch Circle, to work out alternative strategies.

He spends 14 hours a day at his desk — when he isn't on the move from one company to the next. He cannot imagine ever being hemmed in in his activities.

"This job is like opium," he says. "You live in a constant state of enormous tension."

Hans Otto Eglau

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 1 August 1986)

Continued from page 4

minority government. Still less does she fancy forming a coalition government with the SPD. "The Greens," she says, "would do better to keep their distance from the Social Democrats and wage an election campaign of their own."

The aims of the peace movement and environmental campaigners must be lent uncompromising support.

She is most unhappy about Greens who constantly advocate making the first move toward the SPD. This view of the Greens' role in politics makes her "hopping mad."

Martin Winter

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 July 1986)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Water, water everywhere — and not a drop to drink

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Water in amounts so huge as to be barely conceivable is locked away in geological formations beneath south and central Egypt.

The contents of these caverns, something like 50,000 cubic kilometres, are roughly equivalent to the water that has flown down the Nile past Cairo and into the Mediterranean over the past 2,000 years.

What makes this water from the bowels of the earth so special is that it is age-old and was locked away in the Earth's dim and distant past.

Up to a third of it might possibly be brought to the surface and put to agricultural or industrial use, say Berlin scientists.

Fossil water reservoirs exist in Sudan too, although probably smaller in size than Egypt's potential reserves.

This was only one of the interesting *findings* of an interdisciplinary research project on geoscientific problems in arid areas.

Berlin scientists associated with the project came from the Free University, the Technical University and the Technical College.

German scientists funded by the Scientific Research Foundation (DFG) were joined by a substantial number of Egyptian and Sudanese scientists.

Project activities include geological surveys and cartography, assessment of water and commodity reserves and of *the ecological* repercussions of exploiting them.

Research has also dealt with the geological history of north-east Africa.

The main problem associated with using fossil water is that it is non-renewable and could lead to subsidence of the water table.

In Libya and Saudi Arabia oases near modern tubewell projects have already been found to be drying up.

On the other hand, agricultural irrigation could have a beneficial effect on the overall climate. Water that evaporated could trigger more frequent rainfall.

The Aswan dam, for instance, has proved beneficial in this respect — regardless of other ecological disadvantages it may have entailed.

Besides, Professor Eberhard Klitzsch, head of the department of geology and palaeontology at the Technical University and project spokesman, says, the dam has probably forestalled *famine* in Egypt.

The Aswan reservoir has supplied enough water to ensure irrigation of the Nile valley throughout the past five to six years of drought.

This, alongside hydroelectric power, is by the far the most important task the dam was designed to perform.

Irrigation using fossil water may run a further risk. Water that evaporates leaves mineral traces in the soil. In other words, the soil could be salinated.

So Berlin scientists face the task of ascertaining and weighing up the ecological consequences of using fossil water and deciding the best use to which it might be put.

Fossil water reserves are sufficient, Professor Klitzsch says, for agricultural irrigation to a certain extent in certain areas, but not to make the desert bloom throughout the eastern Sahara.

They might, for instance, be used to exploit commodity reserves and to supply surrounding areas with water for agricultural uses.

In connection with irrigation it must be borne in mind that evaporation rules out large-scale spraying. Direct application to individual plants using drip pipes is the only technique that makes sense — and it is expensive.

An alternative well worth considering is that of harnessing fossil water and solar energy to split the water into hydrogen and oxygen and use the hydrogen as, say, an environmentally irreproachable motor fuel.

The Berlin scientists have found traces of other commodities than water. Further deposits of phosphate and oil shale have been located in Egypt and Sudan.

Phosphate has been particularly important for Egypt as fertiliser since the Aswan dam brought the annual Nile flooding to an end. It is also exported.

New bauxite and iron ore deposits have been found, while limestone has been found in Sudan for the first time, as have industrial minerals such as cement base, kaolin and clay, all of which are scarce in Sudan.

Two main methods were used to compile geological data: field work and satellite data evaluation.

Large-scale photographs were supplied by the American Landsat, enabling the trained observer to draw a number of inferences on heights and depths, on features of the Earth's crust and on types of rock and vegetation.

Satellite photos are a fairly poor guide to commodities. The main findings in this respect are arrived at by means of field work.

Between 70 and 80 scientists spend three to six weeks a year prospecting in the arid areas of the eastern Sahara at temperatures of between 40° C and 55° C in the shade.

Their findings are partly amplified by aerial photography, covering fairly small areas in great detail, and by analysis of drilling by Egyptian and Sudanese scientists.

These techniques enable research scientists to describe in detail the shape of the Earth's crust, the soil and the topography.

Using these findings inferences can be drawn as to the likelihood of water or commodity reserves. Maps can be compiled on scales of 1:500,000 and 1:100,000. Conclusions can also be reached as to the region's geological past.

Berlin scientists have, for instance, decided that the Sahara table has incline one way and another on several occasions in the geological past.

River water now runs north to the Mediterranean, but it used to flow south.

In the carbonaceous period, about 280 million years ago, southern Egypt was much less low-lying than it is today. It was even ice-clad.

As a consequence of continental drift the entire area was 40° to 50° south of the equator.

The Sahara table last tilted in the jurassic period, about 150 million years ago, and has since stayed put, as it were.

Commodity deposits and fossil water reserves largely owe their origins to this phenomenon.

From the early tertiary period, about 70 to 80 million years ago, Africa collided with Asia, Asia Minor and Europe.

The Red Sea divide was one result, with the Arabian peninsula being nudged about 120km (75 miles) north in the process.

At the same time the Red Sea began to open wider, a trend that continues and might well lead, in a few million years hence, to the formation of a new ocean.

This mechanism is to be studied in greater detail in future research as part of the Berlin project.

Henning Engeln

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 26 July 1986)

Antarctic scientists lead lonely lives at -40°C

Friedrich Schuster, head of the German Antarctic research base, can be heard loud and clear on the line from 14,000km (8,750 miles) away.

He says: "Today's temperature is minus 35 degrees centigrade, about 65 degrees less than by you in Germany."

Minus 35 is about normal for the time of year, says Dr Schuster, 37, speaking from the Georg von Neumayer base on the north-western perimeter of Antarctica.

In fact it is fairly mild for the Antarctic winter. "We recently measured -43.8° C."

The telephone call is no more trouble than an ordinary intercontinental call. The Hamburg telephone exchange links us in seconds via the Inmarsat telecom satellite 36,000km up in the sky.

Down in Antarctica they are two hours behind Central European summer time, but that naturally has no effect on reception, which is excellent.

The call costs DM23 per minute, so the 25-minute call between Bonn and the radio desk 14,000km away on the edge of the Filchner ice shelf will add DM575 to our monthly phone bill.

The Antarctic scientists are allowed one free phone call home a week. Only the first two and a half minutes are free, and they are naturally used in full.

Dr Schuster is on the point of setting out by rubber-tracked motor sledge to pay a visit to the colony of king penguins 14 kilometres away from the base.

"They're virtually on our doorstep," he says, "and the only animals around at present. King penguins are the only birds that breed in winter."

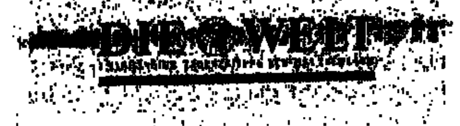
The Antarctic is full of superlatives, and not just in terms of flora and fauna. It is the most distant, the stormiest, the coldest, most arid, tallest and least hospitable of the world's continents.

The lowest recorded temperature was -88.3° C. The mean altitude is 2,040 metres (6,693ft).

Dr Schuster says: "We are perched on the ice, in the middle of a gigantic glacier. We don't really have firm ground beneath us at all."

The main building at the base, which has been in operation for five years, consists of two steel tubes 50 metres (164ft) long and 7.50 metres (24ft 7in) in diameter.

The tubes are designed to withstand the pressure from snow piled metres high on top of the base, which comprises living quarters, a sick bay, laboratories, a workshop, a radio desk and two power units.



It is all so hidden beneath the Antarctic snow that all that can be seen on the surface is antennas and tunnel entrances.

"We are working here with a staff of nine, all men," Dr Schuster says with a laugh, "so you can well imagine that problems can easily arise in the seclusion here."

He and the cook arrived on 12 December 1985 on board the *Polarstern*, a proud newcomer to the German research fleet.

The nine-man crew also include two meteorologists, two geophysicists, an engineer, an electrician and a wireless operator.

The winter crew spend 14 months in the Antarctic, completely cut off from the outside world for nine months at a time and accessible solely by radio.

Personal effects within reason they are allowed to bring with them from Germany, but no pets or pot plants. Friedrich Schuster brought his cameras and photographic equipment and a small computer.

There isn't much sunshine for the men out there in the cold. "The Sun only rose here again five days ago," Dr Schuster says. "It was Antarctic night before that.

"For the past few months it has only been light around midday, between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m., say. For the rest of the day it was more or less pitch dark."

He and his crew have grown accustomed to the temperatures outside. "We no longer see -35° C as all that cold. You adjust to it, you know."

Temperatures indoors are between 18° and 20° C, which is fine. The food is varied too, and: "We have plenty of everything in stock."

Food supplies were stored in the deep freeze on board the *Polarstern* and stay fresh for long periods in the world's largest natural freezer.

"We still have plenty of apples but the oranges have all gone," he says.

Alcohol isn't banned. "Plenty of it in stock," Dr Schuster says. "Sekt (German sparkling wine) is usually served on birthdays.

"And when you have just come in from outside and are frozen right through there is nothing to beat a cup of tea laced with rum."

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, Bonn, 29 July 1986)

■ THE ARTS

Eve and the Future reveals insights into the past

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

The customary view of woman, says Werner Hofmann, curator of the Hamburg Kunsthalle, is the man's view. So his keenly-awaited exhibition entitled Eve and the Future comes as a *surprise* on three counts.

It doesn't feature art by women. It doesn't pose the slightest question as to the female view of aesthetics. And it isn't, certainly not on the face of it, a feminist event.

It abundantly illustrates the past — from Goya to the present day. The prevailing view is the male's; the artist's favourite model is the female.

In 1789 French revolutionary suffragette Olympe de Gouges envisaged an entirely different state of affairs. The French Revolution was to mark the beginning of women's future.

This courageous forerunner of women's lib is recalled in the exhibition documentation. She called in public for equal rights for women.

She ended on the scaffold as a result and the fate that befell her demand is patently illustrated at the Hamburg exhibition.

The poster and catalogue dustjacket feature a young woman at the ironing-table. She hasn't got her heart on the job: *She is gazing red-eyed out of the painting.*

Edgar Degas painted her in 1869. She is clearly tired and pensive, yet her curvaceous, upright figure conveys an impression of both beauty and strength.

Eve needed it — and still does — to escape from the domestic role in which Adam (and Degas, for one) likes to see her.

The point is made more clearly in a painting like this than in an abundance of words.

In the abundance of paintings, some gorgeous and some really awful, that form part of the exhibition one figure is conspicuous by her absence; it is Eve.

As for the epithet "awful," it is soon clear from what is reflected in the paintings on show that being a woman over the past 200 years has not been all fun, to put it mildly.

"There is no such thing as Woman," Hofmann writes in the catalogue. "There are only women." It also includes an astute essay of his entitled "Who Can Define Women?"

The exhibition gives as many definitions as the paintings it includes: all 374 of them.

Sigrun Paas and Friedrich Gross, who shared the work of drawing up the exhibition concept, have arranged them by *topic to provide food* for thought rather than to map out a system.

Visitors would do well not to insist on looking for the message. The abundance of exhibits offers 1,000 messages on relations between Adam and Eve.

A better approach might be to consider what tale the exhibits tell about women's lives and men's views.

Two thirds of the paintings on show are the work of men. Eve and the Future thus deals amply, and not for nothing, with male fantasies.

Courbet's "Sleep," 1866, is a case in point. It is both an attractive painting and an erotic treatment of the subject.

The two women locked in each other's arms spent years on a sheikh's Paris bedroom wall as soft porn.

This painting, included in the section entitled Girlfriends, casts a revealing light on men's curiosity about love between women. Francis Picabia in his "Woman with Matches" paints the woman's breasts on her forehead, making it clear what women think with.

Saints and sinners, women loved and hated, angels and *devils* — the range of women as seen in the Hamburg exhibition is inexhaustible. Female identity is based on striking contrasts. One section is, for instance, headed Mother and Madonna. It illustrates the exaggerated view of woman extending from a saintly role to that of an infanticide. Sheer happiness is seen in work by Renoir and Philipp Otto Runge, as is chaos in works by Otto Dix, Edvard Munch and Käthe Kollwitz or self-doubt, especially in the work of Paula Modersohn-Becker.

The weirdest painting in this section is surely René Magritte's gouache "The Spirit of Geometry," in which the heads of mother and child *are* swapped. The adult child holds the mother baby in arm. These, surely, are joys of motherhood in which Sigmund Freud would have taken a keen interest.



***Madonna*, oil on canvas, Edvard Munch, 1894... *is this* an example of chaos?** (Photo: [illegible])

Ironing Girl, Edgar Degas, 1869.

Woman as an object of male painterly lust has been largely unwanted as an active party, or subject.

The organisers tried to include at least one woman artist in each section covered to help to offset this shortcoming and shed some light on what *Germaine* Greer calls the "suppressed talent."

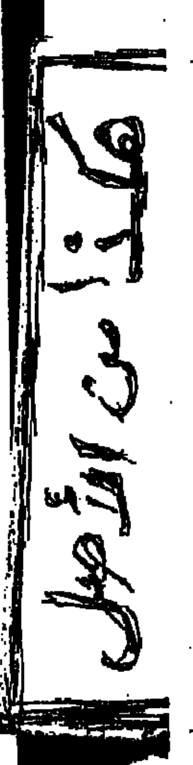
They failed to find anything suitable by a woman painter for the section headed Harbinger of Beauty, a role in which men liked to visualise women, especially in the 19th century.

The final section is devoted to Women Artists. Their social history is better illustrated by the catalogue than by their work.

They range from Angelika Kaufmann, a successful contemporary of Goethe's, and the self-assured autodidact Susanne Valadon to Paula Modersohn-Becker, who died in childbirth, and Anita Rée, who committed suicide.

Then come contemporary artists such as Anna Oppermann, Maria Lassnig, Niki de Saint-Phalle, Annegret Soltau and Lili Fischer, who can be witty or aggressive, hurt or painstaking *as they* define their role as women artists. The role

Continued on page 15



■ MUSIC

The various sensations of bumping into Franz Liszt

Franz Liszt died 100 years ago, on 31 July 1886. He was born in 1811, two years before Wagner, in Dobrjan in western Hungary. In his will he asked to be buried where he died. His grave is in Bayreuth, the home of the Wagner festival.

Franz Liszt excited people's fantasies as scarcely any other artist has. He represented the romantic 19th century with resolution, industry, genius and a few tricks as well.

He enraptured people. Women swooned in droves whenever he appeared to play. Contemporaries said he was the greatest pianist of all time.

He was a handsome man who turned women's heads. To hear him play was to experience a musical sensation. To see him was a social one.

Liszt was not an artist just for the fashionable world. His realm was a mixture of all things — musically as well.

He united everything in his art, sweeping everything up into it.

He learned from Hector Berlioz the fascination of intricate orchestral colouring. Liszt transferred this orchestral polychromy to the piano. He wrested unheard-of effects from the instrument.

Later he introduced these effects into his own orchestral language. He developed for them the symphonic poem, poetry as sound, unfettered by the strict rules of symphonic writing.

Panganini showed him how to exploit to the limit unparalleled virtuosity.

Liszt was a world-famous pianist when he heard Paganini play. He immediately withdrew from public life to adapt his musical technique on the piano to Paganini's.

Liszt is the only artist of star calibre so far who, overnight, withdrew his sevices from the commercial concert circuit.

Liszt was 36 when he stopped playing the piano for money. Although he played in public until he died (just a few months before his 75th birthday) he never took another penny more for his appearances. He only played for charitable causes.

Chopin was the third to influence him. He gave him the means of conveying lyrical musical thought. Artistically he learnt to have faith in his lyrical self as well as his certainty of touch.

To learn to do this is probably very difficult if one plays the piano the way Liszt did.

Liszt's piano works, then, come from a mixture of three sources, although they are distinctly from his hand and his hand alone, the good as well as the bad.

His works are the product of a craggy personality in which pathos, sentimentality, attitudinising and sleekness, effect and feeling, the dramatic and genius are mixed.

Undoubtedly Liszt was a snob and at the same time a benefactor, nationalist and cosmopolitan, showman and thinker.

He scintillated best at night. He knew how to charm.

He was also friendly, ready to help and had good manners. He knew how to make friends, even among those who detested his music.

Equally he never seemed to be worried when someone to whom he had been kind disregarded him afterwards. He could have enjoyed a life-time of success, but he voluntarily dared to court failure. He dedicated himself to the new, to the future without reservations, devoid of opportunism.

He saw himself as a pioneer, and he was one — but far more so than he knew himself.

His later works, gradually and hesitantly getting better known, move into new musical territory with their accent on the melancholic and resigned. The post-Wagner generation of music lovers re-discovered this music.

There is the danger that his pianistic probing of sound will be under-estimated, just as his earlier pyrotechnic explosions on the piano were:

Rossini pointed the way to the future in what he jokingly called "the sins of my old age," in his distanced and ironic manner.

It all depends on how and where you spend your old age. In the glittering salons of Paris or in seclusion in Weimar, Bayreuth or Rome.

The contemporary world had become the future for Liszt. It had shunted him into a siding under the active influence of Cosima, his daughter, who was not prepared to disturb her own Wagner Festival in Bayreuth to attend her father's funeral.

But Liszt had long been used to having to put up with slights of this sort. Perhaps it was this that induced him to take holy orders, wear a soutane and have himself called "abbé," a monarch in the garb of a priest.

His life was dogged by scandal and ardour. Liszt kicked over the traces only where he was capable of doing so, and not only at the piano. Europe shuddered with pleasure at the Liszt scandals.

There was the Countess d'Agoult, who deserted her husband and child for him, and lived with him, bearing him three children, among them Cosima.

She married the first of Liszt's important students, Hans von Bülow, and following in her mother's footsteps, left von Bülow for Richard Wagner.

There was the enormously rich Polish Princess Karoline Sayn-Wittgenstein, with whom he set up home. Twelve hours before they were due to be married on 22 October 1861 the Vatican forbade it.

Liszt's name was on everyone's lips when Olga Zielinska-Piasecka, called the Cossack Countess (although she was neither a Cossack nor a countess), threatened to kill them both.

Liszt was drawn to this madness irresistibly. He enjoyed the notoriety immensely so long as it did not become a nuisance.

Liszt never believed that the Olympians in art should live lives of boredom (Clara Schumann even defended him.)

He held court as an artist. He was the most famous man in Europe. Even people who did not have the slightest interest in music knew about him and about his position. He had the prestige that Herbert von Karajan and Leonard Bernstein now enjoy.

The man who made women swoon, Franz Liszt. (Photo: Historia)

He avoided all things distasteful. He had faith in his own vision that was totally involved in romantic art and life. He saw himself as an artist, and artists healed afresh. He saw all men born as equals, equal to princes and kings.

His fame rests not on the works he left behind. He bequeathed more to us, a legend.

But this legend should never get in the way of a whole series of immortal piano works, that will certainly always find grateful interpreters as long as the piano is played.

Klaus Geitel

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 July 1986)

Brittle tones and baritones at Bayreuth

Did Richard Wagner build the festival theatre on the green hill overlooking Bayreuth to put on show productions that were not quite perfect? Certainly not.

He was, indeed, disappointed with the optical impression of the *Ring*, performed at the theatre's opening in 1876, but the intention was and is with all those who have succeeded him, Cosima, Siegfried and Winifred, to put on definitive productions.

Wagner's grandsons Wieland and Wolfgang discovered the label "workshop" for Bayreuth, meaning that the festival theatre is the place where productions can be tried out and perfected.

This is worthwhile when the production can be further developed artistically.

Chéreau's jubilee production of the *Ring* was a case in point. It was a milestone not only because it was unusual but because it was extraordinary.

The word "workshop" is, however, just an excuse when the production cannot be improved by just tinkering with details.

Jean-Pierre Ponnelle's *Tristan und Isolde* of 1981 is an example of this, (this production opened this year's festival) and Wolfgang Wagner's *Tannhäuser* production from the previous year (that followed *Tristan* in this year's programme").

Ponnelle's principle in his production was to return to the frame on stage with nothing psychological, but letting light express everything. Wolfgang Wagner's production was bleakly statue-like.

Tristan is linked to a jubilee. One hundred years ago Cosima produced this opera in Bayreuth, her first production in the festival theatre.

Wolfgang Wagner certainly did not think of jubilee's when he re-cast his production — totally new except for Matti Salminen as Mark.

He had Peter Hofmann and Jeannine Altmeyer in the title roles, Waltraud Meyer as Brangäne and Ekkehard Wlaschiha as Kurwenal.

Daniel Barenboim conducted a rather lyrical *Tristan*. The orchestra discovered colour and glitter but did not drown the singers.

That is probably what saved Hofmann. He surprised everyone that he was able to pull through to the last act. Sometimes heldentenor Hofmann managed to produce beautiful baritone singing, but for the rest his voice sounded brittle and too often his tone was unsure.

He was unable to grasp Tristan's psychological depths, just as he had not understood them in Bernstein's concert performance in Munich.

He was the only member of the cast who was booed at the final curtain. Hofmann and Jeannine Altmeyer were a tremulous couple. When they were placed on the forestage she often smothered him with her "white" soprano.

In the first act her rich, cool performance, in marvellous voice and unhampered by psychological considerations, was extremely successful.

But in her violent encounter with Tristan in the second act her ringing voice was almost monotonous, and when the night of love came there was no lyricism to it. The *Liebstod* was a succession of separate parts.

Waltraud Meyer, the new Brangäne, has a beautiful, if loose voice, that flowed out calmly in *Habet acht*.

Ekkehard Wlaschiha was the most lively of the cast, a Kurwenal with a Wotan-like voice. Salminen sang with eloquence.

In this performance it was not easy to understand the text. Jeannine Altmeyer produced a quite extraordinary German.

The *Tannhäuser* cast was unchanged. Giuseppe Sinopoli conducted. He personified coldness. Sergiu Celibidache, who is in no way a dramatist, showed in a concert performance of the overture just how much refined seduction there is in the Venusberg music.

There was nothing of this from Sinopoli. There were occasions when it seemed he thought Wagner was an Italian. In the second act chorus he showed this in the tempo, that must have irritated the chorus singers who were so carefully trained by Norbert Balatsch.

The only failure in the cast was Gabriele Schnaut as Venus. She had a sharp, loose voice. Cheryl Studer, who sang Elisabeth, was emotionally cold, but she sang with technical perfection bringing brightness to her performance.

Wolfgang Brendel was surprising as Wolfram. He did not use his wonderful voice to full advantage.

Hans Sotin sang with a beautiful bass voice, but failed to bring eloquence to the part of Landgraf.

The success among the cast was Richard Versalle as Tannhäuser. He joined the production for the first time last year. He was not only vocally well up to the part but he sang movingly *Dir töne Lob*, and showed great emotion in *Nach Rom*.

The public applauded both performances considerably. This could only have meant that when the singers identify completely with their parts not much care is paid to the singing.

Perhaps the magical location had something to do with the applause. Certainly the price of the tickets must have had some influence. After having paid so much for a ticket the opera-goer wanted to feel he had had something for his money.

Hans Göhl

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 1 August 1986)

Munich Mummies is the title of an interdisciplinary research project on which the Munich University department of anthropology and human genetics has been working since 1983.

It features seven human mummies, various parts of mummies, about 60 mummified skulls and a number of animal mummies.

Interim findings indicate there need not be a contradiction between the interest of art historians in preserving mummies as testimony to cultural history and that of anthropologists in a scientific study as part of which their original condition might undergo irreparable change.

Gerfried Ziegelmayer and Franz Parsche are in charge of the project, with which a number of scientists and institutions in Germany and abroad are associated and which is bankrolled by the DFG scientific research association.

Experts are naturally keen to learn more about the life and times of Ancient Egyptian man. Special attention is paid to the development of methods by which to handle irreplaceable mummies.

Modern techniques of medical diagnosis, such as X-ray treatment, computer tomography and endoscopy, make it easier to probe them without causing irreversible harm.

X-ray analysis and computer tomography provide a clear idea of the mummy's age at death, sex, illnesses, injuries and surgical case history.

A clearer analysis of the findings is made difficult by the fact that body tissue structure is altered by embalming and mummification.

So decisions must occasionally be taken on whether or not to take a closer look.

Teamwork by the various scientific disciplines involved is indispensable,

■ ANTHROPOLOGY

Djehuti-irdis lays bare ancient Egyptian secrets

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Ziegelmayer says, if damage is to be kept to a minimum.

Ancient Egyptian belief in life after death was based on the view that human existence continued beyond the grave.

Life in the hereafter could be made easier by embalming the corpse, by preparing the grave and, of course, by the moral qualities of the departed.

So early experiments in embalming were carried out. In the fifth century BC the Greek historian Herodotus described three varieties of mummification, the most painstaking of which took up to 70 days.

During this period the softer parts of the body and the entrails were removed. The remainder was dehydrated, embalmed and wrapped in bandages to preserve it.

Animals of religious significance were mummified too, as were animals selected to accompany the dead.

The Munich scientists began by experimenting with a number of animal mummies: cats, birds, baby crocodiles and the badly damaged mummy of an ox.

Five hundred metres of bandage were unwound, revealing the bones of an ox carefully laid out on a wooden board.

This particular mummy had previously been described in specialist literature as both an ox and a cow. This riddle was soon solved. The team then decided to move on to human mummies.

Three have so far been investigated in detail. A fourth, the mummy of a temple dancer, has already been unwrapped but still defies attempts at endoscopy because the interior of her body is still lined with embalming substance.

All that project scientists have so far succeeded in doing is taking her finger- and toeprints.

A particularly well-preserved first century AD female mummy, an adult woman named Sepsenmonthes, has not been unwrapped. She has merely been X-rayed and subjected to computer tomography.

Her diaphragm was found to contain three parcels of organs. These extra parcels, often in special vessels, are mainly found in the mummies of kings or high-ranking officials.

Djehuti-irdis, a roughly 17-year-old boy, has been partly unpacked. Research scientists unravelled 151 metres of bandage, revealing gold painted nails on fingers and toes and ornamental painted chalk bracelets.

The mummy's face was then completely uncovered, revealing an object protruding from the mouth. This object, defying X-ray identification, proved to be the boy's tongue.

His stomach was opened to remove the parcels of organs. Djehuti-irdis was then left in this half-unwrapped condition.

The only mummy to be completely unwrapped as part of the Munich project was that of an adult man dating back to between 1190 and 1070 BC and in very poor condition.

Cultural historians made an extremely interesting find in that the diaphragm was found to contain seven parcels of organs.

Six contained organic tissue, the seventh contained what was left of bandages.

Four of the parcels each contained bee's-wax figurines in human shape with the heads of baboons, jackals, falcons and humans.

These figurines, known as sons of Horus, were intended to play specific protective roles for the organs in the hereafter. The mummy was presumably a wealthy member of the upper class.

This assumption is lent added weight by a find of lichen, Parmelia furfuracea, in the substance used to fill the abdomen. This variety of lichen formed the basis of what in those days was a precious and expensive perfume.

Endoscopic investigation of mummies' chests, necks and heads, especially the sinus and parts inside the skull, was initially frustrated by mummified tissue absorbing an unusual amount of light.

But this problem was soon solved. Scientists sprayed body cavities with an antiseptic spray that reflected light.

A project scientist, W. Pirsig, found mummies' brains always to have been removed in the same way. The ethmoid bone behind the nose was carefully severed, using a sharp instrument, and the brain was "drained" via the resulting aperture.

W. Storch successfully analysed the substance used to impregnate bandages, with the result that the process of mummification can now be fairly accurately reconstructed. The brain and entrails were first removed, then the body was stored in dry sodium to dehydrate it. The skull and abdomen were then impregnated, using a mixture of bitumen, bee's wax, oils, resins, sodium and aromatic agents to protect the interior from decomposition.

Then the skin was treated, using a mixture of bee's wax and oil, and the body was wrapped in bandages soaked in embalming fluid.

This fluid consisted of about 40 per cent water-soluble substances, such as sodium, guar gum and gum arabic, and 60 per cent insoluble substances, such as bee's wax, oils, tree resin and small quantities of bitumen.

The water-soluble ingredients were poured into the hot oil and wax and mixed; the bandages were soaked in the mixture.

As oil and wax remain on the surface of fabric, it becomes impervious to moisture. The various gums keep the bandages supple during application. Once the water has evaporated they are glued together and hardened.

All mummies are tested in a bid to determine their blood groups. This is particularly interesting from demographic and genetic viewpoints.

But serological probes involve serious problems and are not *always* a success. Djehuti-irdis was *tentatively* found to have an A blood group. Analysis continues.

The opportunity of isolating DNS molecules from cell nuclei that have survived and of growing them in bacteria cultures opens up entirely new prospects.

In 1985 M. S. Pääbo in Uppsala first cloned DNS from mummy tissue. Munich mummy tissue was used in his work.

It is checked to make sure cell nuclei are intact. Enzyme fission and chemical analysis of nucleotid sequences show whether the cloned genetic substance is really human DNS.

But horror visions of the pharaohs of old coming back to life in this way are absurd, Ziegelmayer says. Only DNS fragments are cloned.

They can be compared with known sequences of human DNS molecules, possibly revealing details of genetic irregularities in the make-up of people in bygone days. But that is all.

It would, Ziegelmayer says, be a gratifying coincidence if an error in genetic coding were located and identified.

Details of illness are better revealed by X-ray findings and histological analysis of slivers of blood vessels or other organic remains.

Analysis of the papillary lines on mummies' hands and feet has revealed most interesting findings. "Fingerprints" as used by the police serve anthropologists partly as a means of characterising populations and conveying [illegible] of family relationships.

Certain skin characteristics are known to accompany chromosome anomalies. Plaster casts of mummies' hands and the soles of their feet are used in this work.

Munich anthropologists also plan to reunite all mummies in Bavaria and to house them in quarters that befit their importance.

A special exhibition at the Munich museum of anthropology last year triggered keen public interest. There have been several calls for a permanent exhibition on further project findings.

But the university department of anthropology and human genetics lacks the funds needed to stage such an exhibition. An arguably even more telling point is the shortage of staff and accommodation.

Sabrina Rachid

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 31 July 1986)

■ SOCIETY

Nurse gave up career to look after needy children

The first SOS Children's Village was set up by Hermann Gmeiner in Inist in the Tyrol in 1949. There are now 233 in 85 countries providing a home for 35,000 children. The villages are financed by donations, bequests and contributions made from members of the Munich-based Hermann Gmeiner Fund which has two million members in West Germany. It is estimated that about 5,000 "mothers" worldwide work with the organisation.

For the past six years Gudrun Petersen, 36, has been a house mother in the SOS Children's village at Diessen am Ammersee, west of Munich.

She occupies one of the 16 houses in the village, founded 30 years ago, along with six young people.

The children are two to a room. Frau Petersen has a room of her own, but "the children are not forbidden to come in. I don't get any peace really until after nine in the evening."

"What's to eat," Peter, aged 14, asked. Elke and her sister Annette are laying the table, but they do not sit down to eat until all five children are home. The sixth, Jens who is 18, is doing an apprenticeship and does not get home until later in the evening.

It's an hour and half getting the five younger children to bed. Frau Petersen gives each of them at least fifteen minutes of her time. She prayers with each of them and ~~talks over~~ the day or personal problems with each of her wards.

Eight-year-old Annette said: "I like to be cuddled by Gudrun and I don't like her to go in the evening."

Annette was two when she came to Frau Petersen with her sister Andrea, aged 6, and brother Peter, 8.

The three called Gudrun "Mummy" until two years later three other brothers and sisters, aged eight, 11 and 14 joined the small family. Since they had parents of their own they asked if the others would not call Gudrun "Mummy" but Gudrun. All did so except Peter.

Gudrun Petersen is sometimes just a little sad that nine years ago she decided to give up her work as a children's nursing sister in order to be an assistant and then mother in an SOS Children's Village.

She hopes that she can be a "mother" to her children, not just an understanding guide and teacher to the children.

"I did not know that 95 per cent of the children here were not orphans, but social *orphans*, whose parents, for various reasons, are in no position to bring them up," she said.

For a couple of years, at the behest of the Youth Affairs Office, attempts have been made in SOS villages to include the natural parents in bringing up the children.

A village mother follows pretty much the same routine as would an ordinary mother.

She gets up at 6.20, wakes the children, gets breakfast ready and their snack for the school break.

When the children are at school she does the housework and cooks the midday meal.

She goes shopping in her own car twice a week. Once a week she goes off to meet a female friend or another village mother.

The children do their homework between two and five. Gudrun Petersen always sits with them, sewing or knitting, and keeps an eye on them so that they really do their homework properly. She helps, when necessary.

They eat at six in the evening. The children wash up. They chat a little and at 7.30 Annette, the first, is put to bed.

The Children's Village mothers have it just a little easier than "real" mothers. A cleaning lady comes once a week for four hours and a massive basket of washing is dealt with by a laundry woman once a week.

Two mothers make arrangements to share an assistant who is on hand for eight hours each day. These assistants stand in for the mothers when they have a day off, once a week.

Gudrun Petersen usually lets her days off collect so that every few months she has a few days free to visit her parents in Kassel, go to friends or her brother who lives in Munich.

He sometimes comes to visit Gudrun and her family in Diessen and grills sausages for the children and generally plays with them.

Gudrun Petersen does not have her own apartment outside the village, but there are some SOS mothers who keep on their previous homes. They can afford to pay the rent from their salaries which, after the fifth year of service, is about DM3,500 a month. The Children's Village administration only deducts DM300 a month for board and lodging.

The mothers do not have many opportunities to spend money. A lot is put by for the four weeks' holiday the mothers take in August, when the children go off to holiday homes or farms geared for the children's vacation.

Village mothers must be unmarried and have no family commitments. They do not have to remain spinsters, however. They are usually still fairly young and if one of them finds a man she would like to marry a way is found that is acceptable to all parties; for example to take young children into the family as foster children.

But the working arrangements with the Children's Village association are brought to an end when the mother marries.

In the first 20 years of the Children's Village project the view was that the mothers would work in the villages for life. The women held their posts until retirement age, raising up to 20 children.

But over the past ten years there has been a trend towards "mother for one generation." The SOS Children's Village organisation's view is that a mother can have a closer relationship with six to seven children than with 20.

Women who have worked as SOS Children's Village mothers find it just as difficult to get re-engaged for the job after a break as do other women who have brought up their own children and want to go back to work.

One of the mothers at Diessen, Frau Henkel, said: "I do all I can to bring up the children properly. But I don't think I would be very happy having to go through all those difficulties a second time."

She gave up an office job she had held for 25 years. She said about her reasons for applying to be a mother in the Children's Village: "Like all other young girls I thought the thing to do was to find a partner. Then I noticed that life did not need to be like that." She continued: "I asked myself what was to become of me, for I did not want to remain in the office for always. Then I had the idea of being a mother in the Children's Village."

Sense of vocation . . . Gudrun and child. (Photo: Gerti Wöhe)

Gudrun Petersen gave up her job as a children's nursing sister so that she could look after children she had got to know when they were in good health. She wanted to live with children.

The Children's Village mothers must have a sense of vocation, for even when they have left the job and are no longer on the pay roll they remain the close and intimate friend of the children they have raised.

Experience has shown that children raised in a Children's Village still cling to their foster mothers even when they have grown up.

Gerti Wöhe

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 August 1986)

Taxi driver Sabine has to fight bias

Sabine Wenger has been driving a taxi in West Berlin for the past 18 months. She has had some comical experiences and some nasty ones. Men constantly make passes at her. In this article for *Der Tagesspiegel*, she tells what it is like being one of that growing band, the woman taxi driver.

About 20 per cent of all taxi-drivers are women and the number is increasing, but a woman behind the taxi wheel is still cause for comment.

Reactions range from "I think it's great to be driven by a woman," to "That's far too dangerous a job for a woman. Anyway men drive better."

One client, for instance, said: "Well then, what do you do when you have finished work". A look in the rear mirror was enough. I knew what I would not be doing.

I quickly took in that the fellow was drunk and that people like him can quickly get aggressive if they don't like the tone of your voice.

I don't like trouble so I dodged giving an answer. Just a little further and we got to where he wanted to go.

The meter showed DM11,60. It was ages before he found money after searching through his pockets.

He said: "Do I really have to get out?" Yes, please and straight away. I'm parked in a no parking area.

Then one last try to see if I was willing... My sullen look was enough for him. He understood. "OK, then. Take care, my dear," and he got out of the cab.

Just a little de-nerved I turned on the taxi light and drove off. I was lucky; for a 100 metres further on another fare was standing to wave me down.

He insisted on sitting in the front seat, so I had to collect up my things and unlock the door. People who want to sit in the front do so to be able to chat more easily. But the young man told me where he wanted to go and said no more.

He scrutinised me from the side, but said nothing. It was a quiet drive.

We arrived at the house number he wanted. I had taken the fare and turned off the meter. Suddenly he grabbed the receipts pad and my biro pen. He wrote down a telephone number. Stroking my arm he said: "Ring me this evening. Will you?"

I was so astonished that words failed me. But there was no need to reply. He was out of the taxi.

Things like that happen all the time, sometimes done more subtly, sometimes in a rougher manner. I have got used to it driving a taxi in West Berlin, and in the main I look back on things like that with amusement.

A taxi-driver, male or female, is often confided in with private matters and you often have most interesting conversations.

But there are some customers who make me wish my taxi was fitted out like a James Bond car with an ejection seat.

But I get more angry about people's attitudes towards a woman behind the wheel than I do at all the passes made. It is annoying. Almost every other customer, man or woman, finds a woman taxi-driver a subject for comment.

The truth is that women do not fit into the image the taxi business has — drivers are regarded either as cowboys or flops at any other kind of job.

The most idiotic situation I experienced was when a man ordered a taxi at a pub. He calmly said: "I want another taxi. I'm not being driven by a woman."

Others show their scepticism or their open-mindedness in comments such as: "I was driven by a woman taxi-driver last week!" Or: "Splendid. You drove perfectly. We've arrived safely." Did they have doubts they wouldn't?You have doubts yourself, particularly at the beginning when you have to overcome the usual difficulties and anxieties. Comments about a woman behind the wheel do not do much for your self-confidence.

Some of the other girl taxi-drivers give up after a few weeks, but most of them want to use the hard-to-get taxi-driver's licence to the full. The lack of other work obliges them to stay on in the job:

A glance at the jobs vacant columns shows clearly why. The ads call for a taxi-driver, male or female, for day and night shifts. As a temporary or, with a firm job. Details can be arranged.

In taxi businesses there is no resentment against women, because every taxi operator is under pressure to have his taxis on the road as often as possible.

Male taxi-drivers are not so open-minded. There are always jobs going, but there is considerable competition among drivers.

Traditional drivers examine closely, and with hostility, everything that is new in the business, student drivers, foreigners and women.

Prejudices are obvious when a woman messes up a radio call for a taxi. "Good Lord, woman, get back to the kitchen!"

Sabine Wenger

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 3 August 1986)

■ ESCAPADES

3 shot dead in bloodbath at police HQ

Two members of the Hamburg Social Democrat Land administration have resigned their Senate portfolios following a shooting at police headquarters in which three people were killed. The Senators are Rolf Lange (Interior) and Eva Leithäuser (Justice). See page 3.

The last blow of the Killer of St Pauli was when he shot himself in an interview room at police headquarters in Hamburg.

Werner Pinzner, 39, pulled out a Smith and Wesson .38 calibre revolver; announced that he was taking hostages, shot public prosecutor Wolfgang Bistry, 40, in the head and chest; fired at his wife, Jutta, 39; and turned the pistol on himself. Two unarmed police officers in the room and a stenographer were uninjured.

Pinzner died straight away. His wife died shortly afterwards; and Bistry died later in hospital. How did a man who had been in custody for more than three months under stringent conditions manage to get hold of a firearm?

Pinzner mixed in the environment of the red-light operators of St Pauli, Hamburg's main red-light district which includes the Reeperbahn. He had been held in remand prison since April 15 while five allegations of murder were *being investigated.*

It seems likely that a series of mistakes at police headquarters was made. Already one senior police officer has been sacked.

(A later report says that an autopsy found that Pinzner's blood contained traces of cocaine. There were fresh needle marks on his skin).

The charges are that in 1984 and 1985, Pinzner carried out five murders, most on the orders of a Hamburg brothel owner called Josef Nusser, known as Viennese Peter. Nusser, 36, is now in custody.

Pinzner's victims were: a 65-year-old Israeli, Jehuda Arzi, shot dead on 7 July 1984 in Kiel; a 32-year-old brothel manager, Peter Pfeilmeier, shot dead on 13 September 1984 in Hamburg; Ralfe Kühne, 27, and Waldemar Dammer, 30, both from St Pauli, found with bullets in the head in Hamburg on 8 April 1985; and Dietmar Traub, known as Shiny Shoes, who was found near Munich with a projectile in his skull on 15 November 1985.

About 9 am on 29 July, the day of the shooting, Pinzner was brought from the remand cells to be taken to police headquarters, some distance away. He had been held in solitary confinement in a cell with security precautions designed for terrorists. There had been threats on his life and he had been kept apart from the other prisoners.

Justice Senator Eva Leithäuser said that before Pinzner had been handed to police, he had been searched with a metal detector.

Interior Senator Rolf Lange said Pinzner had been accompanied all the way to police headquarters in the police van. He had been handcuffed.

(Justice administers prisons, such as



The peaceful killer. Werner Pinzner.

the remand prison where Pinzner was held; and Interior is responsible for the police.)

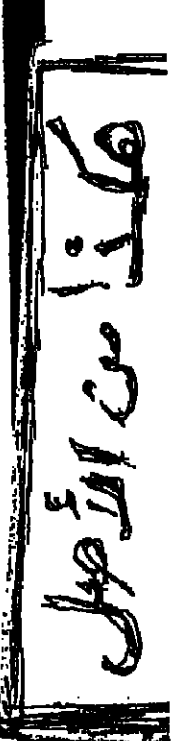
At police headquarters, Pinzner was brought into the interview room. Waiting for him was his wife and assistant, Jutta; his lawyer, Isolde Ochsle-Misfeld; prosecutor Bistry; two unarmed officers; and a stenographer. He then pulled out the revolver.

It is possible that the unobtrusive and peaceful behaviour of Pinzner while he was in remand obscured the fact that down on the Reeperbahn he was regarded as a dangerous man, an ice-cold killer. The murders were aimed at getting rid of Nusser's competition.

It is not exactly known what sort of assistant his wife Jutta was. Was she searched for weapons at police headquarters? The question was not immediately answered. She was looked upon as an honourable person with a career who had stood by her man even when his alleged deeds became known.

The political upshot of the affair might be widespread. There is an election in Hamburg in a little over three months. Already, Interior Senator Lange is under a cloud following a police operation in June in which 400 antinuclear demonstrators were surrounded by a ring of policemen for 12 hours and later taken away to various police stations. A report by a Hamburg assembly committee has heavily criticised the action.

Thomas Vinsor Wolgast
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 July 1986)



East-West run with dummy Soviet soldiers a hoax

Heinz Braun, 48, has gone to ground. The man who claimed to have fooled East German border checkpoint guards by dressing up as a Russian corporal and driving with three shop-window dummies dressed up as Russian officers from East to West Berlin now has admitted it was a hoax. Left with red faces are the *Daily Mail*, a London tabloid daily, and ITN, a British television company, who are reported to have agreed to pay 28,000 marks for exclusive rights to the story. The *Mail* says no payment was made. But there were doubts right from the outset about Braun and a collaborator called Wolf Quasner, head of an organisation that specialises in getting people from East Bloc nations out to the West — for money. In this article written for *Die Welt*, the Bonn daily, before Braun admitted the hoax, Hans-Rüdiger Karutz points out the holes in his story.

Heinz Braun is a solidly built bull of a man, grey-haired and firm lipped with an abrupt manner.

He is a rubber worker and owner of Reifendienstes Braun, a car tyre works which he operated under licence from the East German state.

The first doubts about his story arose when he gave an interview the following day. "I want first of all to send greetings to East Germany. And greetings to all my friends in the East who have stood by my side for 26 years and who believed in me to the end. I will never forget..."

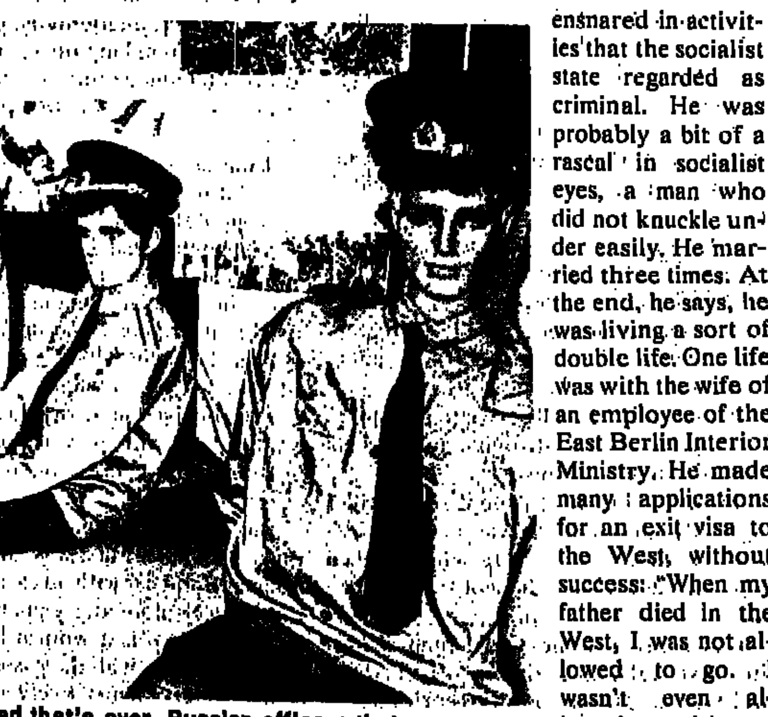
And so it went on, with not the slightest touch of nervousness or sadness. He had used three shop-window dummies dressed up as Soviet army officers and had driven in his own Lada vehicle, done up like a Soviet patrol car, throught the checkpoint at Invalidenstrasse.

It happened, he said, on Wednesday, 30 July shortly after seven in the evening. A bright summer evening. Visibility could hardly be better for alert East German border guards. (The border is not guarded on the Western side, hence the difficulty in verification.)

Braun's report, however, sounded convincing enough, especially as the idea is not original. In 1962, four young East Berliners pasted stars on imitation epaulettes and drove through Checkpoint Charly.

Braun said he went to East Germany in 1959 when he was 21 out of political conviction, but it took only six months before he ran into trouble with the system. He was jailed for two and a half years for allegedly trying to persuade someone to defect to the West. The supposed victim has in any case come to the West in the meantime, says Braun.

Braun became more and more often ensnared in activities that the socialist state regarded as criminal. He was probably a bit of a rascal in socialist eyes, a man who did not knuckle under easily. He married three times. At the end, he says, he was living a sort of double life. One life was with the wife of an employee of the East Berlin Interior Ministry. He made many applications for an exit visa to the West, without success: "When my father died in the West, I was not allowed to go. I wasn't even allowed to visit my 88-year-old mother." Yet in spite of all these difficulties Braun seems to have been otherwise remarkably successful in the land of the farm worker and the building worker.



Whew, glad that's over, Russian officers that never were relax after the escapade that never was. (Photo: AP)

For a start, he was a taxi driver. This is interesting, because some people who know about these things reckon that 80 per cent of taxi drivers in East Berlin are paid informers of the security police. In 1979, he was given a licence to run an independent service station and tyre service. Skilled workers are in short supply in the East, and the car is just as much a prized posession there as in the Federal Republic.

So the business, filling a hole in the market, thrived. And so did Heinz



Braun (left) and Quasner. My heart was in my mouth as we . . (Photos: dpa)

Braun, thorn in the side of the government. He bought himself a 4,000 square metre block of land with a Dutch windmill and a luxury dacha.

Quasner is said to have got hundreds of people out to the West for money. Two cases are on record. When Pope John Paul made his first visit to Poland after becoming Pope, two families dressed as nuns and monks were piloted from Warsaw out to Italy.

The other is a man who got out of Prague on a Ghanaian passport. A make-up expert fixed the face up with the right colouring.

The story is that Braun and Quasner came to terms through middlemen in East Berlin. It was arranged that Braun, his girlfriend and their small daughter would be brought out.

On June 24 this year, Braun was taken out, he says, in the boot of a diplomat's car. He came alone because his girlfriend changed her mind.

Braun now says he heard no more from them so he went back in an effort to get the woman to change her mind.

Insiders say it is highly unlikely that a genuine fugitive would have gone back.

Anyway, Braun says that, with the East Germans hard on his heels, he unearthed the woman, but she had returned to her husband.

So Braun went and got his old Lada

Continued on page 15

■ CHILDREN

All the news that's fit to print hot off the EsPress

Children read children's books and comics. They don't read the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* — and none of the lowbrow newspapers either.

Does that mean they aren't interested in politics? Or would they take an interest in world affairs if they were presented in a children's newspaper?

In Essen an editorial office is firmly convinced they would. Three journalists in the Ruhr city have been producing a monthly children's newspaper since April.

EsPress, or *Essener junge Presse*, is aimed at children but does more than tell animal tales or suggest games to play.

The paper is published by the Essen Children and Youth Culture Association, whose members — educationalists and parents — take young people very seriously.

Since they felt even TV news bulletins were not always easy for adults to understand they decided to launch a newspaper to make politics make sense to eight-to 14-year-olds.

Funds were scarce, so they applied for three part-time jobs to be partly financed by the Labour Office and hired unemployed journalists to do the work.

The journalists moved with a single, clapped-out old typewriter into an empty classroom, talked at length with children about what they felt a newspaper ought to be like and then drew up an editorial concept.

EsPress has carried reports on the Gulf War, on President Reagan's air strike against Libya, on Chernobyl and on arms smuggling.

Stories are short. So are sentences. Uncommon, foreign words are out. And everything is painstakingly explained.

Children need to be told at some stage that a board chairman is the top boss of a company, for instance.

Theoretical explanations are boring. Children (and not only they) need to be served information attractively presented.

"Anna Is Afraid," the headline of a story about a department store that was due for closure proclaimed.

Anna, young readers were told, is serving an apprenticeship at the store and is now worried she will be sacked as soon as she has finished her training.

This approach makes it clear to young people of virtually any age what the consequences of a company calling in the receiver can be.

Topics for children only are dealt with too, of course. There has, for instance, been a "pocket money report," stories about theatre for the young and a critical assessment and review of playgrounds.

There are also hints, jokes and riddles for young readers.

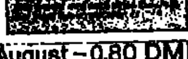
The three journalists found it far from easy to adapt to the way children think and talk. "You have to ask different questions and scrap between 60 and 70 per cent of your vocabulary," says Reinhardt Knoll.

He feels he now talks in plainer and more straightforward terms in private life too. There can surely be nothing wrong about being understood by everyone.

Children's talk can create difficulties. "Missile Shoot-Out" is hardly a satisfactory headline for the story about Libya.









Aus dem Inhalt

Gefahr am Großen Berg

Indianer kämpfen um ihre Heimat

Trying to make sense out of politics and pocket money.

Children will tend to associate the term "shoot-out" with, say, "Bonanza" or other TV Westerns in which death is neither painful nor in any way dreadful.

As children usually themselves know what is right for them the editorial department attaches great importance to reader collaboration.

A small band of children regularly attends editorial conferences, suggesting topics and themselves working on them.

EsPress is modelled on *Journal des Enfants*, of which 20,000 copies are printed in Alsace. *Klick*, a similar project in Germany, has failed to make a mark.

The Essen children's newspaper costs 80 pfennigs and has 800 subscribers. Five thousand copies a month are printed; some are sold in bookshops, others are given away free of charge.

Each issue costs DM3,500, of which the city of Essen is paying one third for an initial two-year period.

Ten thousand copies a month need to be sold if *EsPress* is to pay its way in the long term. That may be easier said than done.

Dirk Kurbjuweit
(Vorwärts, Bonn, 26 July 1986)

Continued from page 14

car. He spray painted it green and fixed the initial CA (Sovietskaya Armiya) and a red star on a white semi circle on the door.

Observers say that a car belonging to a refugee would have long been confiscated by the authorities. A genuine *refugee would not have hidden the car but sold it for cash.*

As for the dummies presented in the West, specialists point out that:

- *the* epaulettes of the colonel, the dummy in the front, belong to a dress uniform, not a work uniform.
- The shirt collars have been cut in Western style. Soviet shirt collars are longer and sharper.
- None of the officers carried a camera, which is de rigeur with Soviet officers.

H-R Karutz
(Die Welt, Bonn, 5 August 1986)

Eve exhibition

Continued from page 10

women artists after the French Revolution is not the subject of the exhibition, so to offset possible disappointment a book by Isabel Schulz entitled The Woman as an Artist is on sale alongside the catalogue.

The catalogue itself describes every painting on show and is an extraordinarily inexpensive academic companion to an exhibition the opulence of which has not been equalled for years at the Kunsthalle.

Exhibits were provided on loan by 82 museums all over the world. The Prado in Madrid lent several Goyas. Another, a portrait of the Duchess of Osuna, came from Palma de Mallorca.

Three paintings by Frida Kahlo came from Mexico City. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, parted temporarily with Picasso's "Sitting Woman," 1927.

Paintings by Edvard Munch were supplied by the National Gallery in Oslo, Renoir by the Berne Art Museum, Edward Hopper from Washington.

A round dozen Paris museums have lent exhibits. Others are from Prague, London, Helsinki, Vienna, Zürich and museums and galleries in other German cities.

East Germany was extremely generous, especially the Leipzig Art Museum.

As for Eve and the Future, the clearer the picture of past and present becomes, the more clearly and definitely one can aim at the future.

Erika Brenken
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 20 July 1986)

Split opinion on bid to help little eggheads

Extra bright children aged between four and six are to take part in a Hanover University teaching experiment this autumn.

The project will aim to isolate child prodigies who learn so fast that they cannot be helped by parents or kindergarten.

It will try to find out if children as young as this can be pushed in the same way that children who show promise at sport are given special coaching.

The Social Democrats, who are the main Opposition party in Lower Saxony, have objected to the entire scheme.

They want to know how it is to be determined which children are chosen.

The Teachers' Union (GEW) has branded the experiment reactionary.

Officially the project is entitled "Promotion of Gifted Children at Pre-School Age." It is sponsored by the German Association for the Gifted Child.

The Bonn Education Ministry is to contribute an initial DM150,000.

The project is headed by Hanover University educationalist Klaus Urban. Over 30 parents have nominated their children for the initial intake of 10, so entry tests will be necessary.

There has already been serious criticism in connection with these tests and what form they ought to take to determine the above-average intelligence of four-to six-year-olds.

The project group has set itself the target of "deliberately promoting universally gifted children whose above-average thirst for knowledge and precocious intellectual capacity would otherwise not be satisfied."

Educationalists claim to have found many young children so keen to learn that schools and kindergartens have not been up to the task.

Some of these gifted children can read, write and do arithmetic so well by the time they go to school that they soon lose all interest in learning and creativity.

So the pilot project is aimed especially at children of this kind, who are not to be taught the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic) during the experiment.

Instead, they are to be taught how to think logically. The emphasis is to be on intelligent thinking and problem-solving.

But the super-brains are not to be starved of arguably less challenging subjects; dancing and games, singing, music and painting are also to be taught.

The association has so far kept quiet about the project because it does not want to raise parents' hopes too high.

Yet despite virtual secrecy over 30 applications have already been submitted for children to be admitted to the initial intake of 10.

The Social Democrats and the teachers' union voiced trenchant criticism before the first announcement was even made.

The Social Democrats would first like to know what questions are asked in the entry tests.

The Social Democrats are strongly opposed to breeding an elite for the wrong reasons. The teachers' union has so far been unable to approve of the project in any way and dismissed it as reactionary.

Hanover University expected these objections and is taking them in its stride. There can be no doubt, it says, that children with extremely high IQs exist — whatever the reason.

It is irresponsible to refuse to cater for their desire for knowledge.

This is said to be a point every teacher in Germany is able to reaffirm, especially as they have to be guided by the speed of the average in gauging the pace of teaching.

Children who are below-average are sent down a class, children who are above-average are bored.

Karl-Heinz Kallenbach
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 30 July 1986)